

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY
OF
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

TO THE REVOLUTION, 1688

BY
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PREFACE.

THE BEST EXCUSE which can be made for the publication of a Work such as that which is now offered to the world, is the plain statement of the reasons which originally led to its composition, and of the objects which the author had in view when he commenced the task. And if, when the undertaking is accomplished, the same reasons still exist either in part or whole; if his labours be calculated to supply a want which in any measure continues to be felt, he must trust that the kindness of the public will excuse that vanity which induces him to hope, that his exertions may in some degree contribute to supply a desideratum among the elementary works of our country.

The author of the present Sketch discovered after he had been admitted into orders, that the knowledge of English Ecclesiastical history which he possessed was very deficient. It was a point concerning which information was not to be readily obtained, but in which he felt that he ought to have made diligent search during the professional preparation of himself, on which every educated man, who is engaged in the instruction of others, is peculiarly bound to enter; he was distressed, that his knowledge of the sects among the philosophers of Athens was greater than his information on questions which affect the Church of England; and he determined to devote a considerable portion of those few hours which a laborious employment left at his disposal to the study of the history of our own church.

His pursuits were chiefly directed to those particulars which at the same time might supply him with real knowledge in his own profession, and he was disposed to hasten over periods which could furnish little but an acquaintance with facts, and an insight into ecclesiastical abuses. The circumstances in which he was placed furnished him with an abundance of books; but this very fact made him more sensible of the need of some guide to direct him in the selection of them; and notwithstanding the kind assistance provided by a large number of clerical friends, he found a diversity of advice, which perplexed rather than facilitated his progress. He sought in vain for a general history of the Church of England, which might furnish him with a map of his intended journey; for those which exist are rather large surveys than maps; in which the general features are laid down on so extensive a scale, that they never exhibit a commodious view of the whole.

He determined, therefore, to draw up a sketch for himself, to lay down the great landmarks as distinctly as he could, and to fill up the details in such a manner as circumstances would allow. And conceiving that his own map, with all its imperfections, might be useful to others, he constantly framed it as he proceeded, thinking that when his task was accomplished, it might either remain as a private memorial of his own studies, or be given to the public when the academical labours of the author were at an end, in case no work of the same description should previously supply the wants of individuals situated as he had been. When this period had arrived, and he hardly felt satisfied with the publications which had appeared, he ventured to print the present volumes. Mr Southey's *Book of the Church* hardly satisfied him.¹ Mr. Carwithen has given a very faithful description of the country through which he has passed, but he has not sufficiently pointed out the more

¹ Dr. Short begs leave in this edition to apologise to Mr. Southey for expressions used in the first, which ought never to have been printed, and which are, for that reason, now omitted, especially as the new edition of Mr Southey's work has obviated the want of references, to which allusion is there made. Second Edition.

striking features to which the attention of the traveller must be directed, if he wishes to obtain an idea of the whole territory. Many of the other writers who might here be mentioned have examined only a part of the history of our church, and are perhaps liable to other objections.

A larger work than the present would probably have been better suited to a greater variety of readers, a small one, if it be wisely composed, will seek the immediate benefit of one class only, and trust to the chance, that whatever is useful to one description of persons can hardly prove uninteresting to others. The professed object of these pages is to facilitate the studies of young men who are preparing themselves for the offices of the Church, through their academical pursuits.

The careful perusal of two small volumes¹ may prevent them from being ignorant on those points on which general information is ordinarily expected: and prepare the way for more extensive studies, by furnishing them with the means of arranging systematically the knowledge which they shall otherwise acquire.

If such a book had fallen into the hands of the author twenty years ago, his labours might have been more profitably directed in the same course; for there is a certain quantity of knowledge necessary on every subject, before we shall proceed effectually to the acquisition of more; and it often happens that the want of this is not supplied, till the more active duties of life prevent the clergyman from taking advantage of those channels of information which would otherwise have been open to him.

In the execution of this work, there is hardly enough of detail to satisfy the inquisitive; but while it assists him in his pursuits, it may prevent the idle from being totally ignorant on ecclesiastical history; it is with this view that the author has directed his particular attention to those points which constitute the history of the Church of England as it is at

¹ The first edition was printed in two volumes

present established, to the Thirty-nine Articles for instance, the translations of the Bible, and the Prayer Book.

It is probable that feelings of personal kindness may induce some individuals, who are possessed of a greater knowledge on ecclesiastical history, to favour these volumes with a reading; and they may wonder that the studies in which he has been engaged have not convinced the writer of the imperfections of his work, and the objections which may be raised against the attempt to crowd the whole history of our church into two small volumes. In extenuation of his defects, he would only plead the difficulty of the task, and beg them to examine the question on its right grounds. The work was composed when the author had an abundance of books, and but little time to use them; and has been prepared for the press in a small country village, where he has the command of his time, but of no library save his own private one. If, therefore, he had extended the limits of his work, the attempt must have been made under many disadvantages, of which they only can be fully aware who have once possessed a free admission into large libraries, of which they have been subsequently deprived. An occasional access to libraries is extremely useful for purposes of reference and collation; but he who collects materials for history must search among a variety of books which the hand of time has consigned to oblivion, and which are frequently unworthy the attention of the general reader; and no one can do this who is not resident among public libraries; nor can it be regarded in any light less serious than a national calamity, that the necessary labours of those who reside in the universities almost preclude the possibility of their deriving any extensive advantages from the treasures which are preserved around them.

In despair, therefore, of accomplishing anything more worthy of the subject, yet hoping that his present labours may not have been totally thrown away, he commits himself to the kindness of his friends and readers, with a full conviction that none of them are more fully aware of the deficiencies of these volumes than himself. With regard to

actual mistakes, he presumes that many may be discovered, arising partly from the extensive range of history which he has been forced to embrace, while the reader will criticise that portion with which he is best acquainted; he will ask, therefore, for a fair indulgence from those who have never engaged in such a task, nothing doubting that he who knows the difficulty of avoiding such errors, from experience, will use that forbearance which the case requires.

Some persons may object that the opponents of the Establishment are occasionally depicted in too favourable colours, and the defects of our common parent held up to view with less cautious respect than becomes a dutiful son of the Church of England. Let such remember, in the spirit of meekness, that there is a higher body to which we belong, and that the Church of England is no further our mother than as she proves herself a church of Christ. If such a charge be reasonably substantiated, no one will be more ready to find that he has been deceived than the writer of these pages, he has always endeavoured to search for the truth, and he hopes that in this pursuit he may never grow weary. To say that the Church of England is imperfect in constitution and practice is only to say that she was partly framed by human beings, and is administered by men; but to pray that her mal-administrations may be corrected by her friends, and her deficiencies supplied by those who understand her constitution, is the petition of one, who while he admires the Church of England, believes that neither communities nor individuals are infallible.

And if the perusal of these volumes shall be accompanied with a portion of that amusement which their composition has afforded the author; if they shall contribute to excite in the breast of others that love and admiration for our church which their preparation has confirmed in the heart of the writer, their publication will fully answer the desires of one who believes that the best reformation of the Church of England would be to reduce her in practice to what she is in theory who believes that her doctrines are such, that he

who ventures his eternal safety to her guidance is taking a secure path; and that the framework of her establishment is that which, under God's providence, is best suited, in the present state of the Christian world, to preserve and disseminate our holy faith among the various branches of society.

KINGS WORTHY.

April 1832.

ADVERTISEMENT
TO
THE SECOND EDITION.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES of the author of this sketch are so changed since he wrote it, that they will sufficiently account for his reprinting the work with little or no alteration. The Rector of Bloomsbury ought to be engaged in other tasks than that of writing ecclesiastical history. The public have taken off the first edition as rapidly as could have been expected, considering its extent and the nature of the work; and in offering a second in a cheaper form, the Author has consulted the convenience of those for whose use it was originally designed; in this edition he has corrected such errors as his friends have kindly pointed out to him, and he places it before students in Theology, with the hope that it may assist them in becoming acquainted with the history of the Church of England; and that they may derive as much practical advantage from this pursuit as he has obtained from it, in all the different circumstances to which his clerical duties have called him.

RECTORY, ST. GEORGE'S, BLOOMSBURY

April 1838

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I. p. 1.

- § 1. General outline of the history of the British church before the Saxon invasion.
2. England early converted to Christianity, possibly by St. Paul: other traditions without any foundation.
3. King Lucius. Early persecutions; the Dioclesian. St. Alban. Constantius Chlorus Constantine puts an end to persecution.
4. British bishops at early councils; Arles, Nice, Sardica, Ariminum.
5. Pelagian heresy. Germanus, Lupus, and Severus. Schools established. Illutus and Dubritius, Banchor, Gallican liturgy.
6. Saxons converted by St. Augustin; Ethelbert, Britha. Gregory I. instrumental in this event.
7. Augustin, archbishop of England. Christian festivals accommodated to the heathen feasts Ecclesiastical establishment Union with the British church attempted. Easter; Roman method of keeping it adopted by Oswi.
8. Theodore made archbishop. Adrian. Parish-churches established. Bishoprics divided Wilfrid appeals to the Pope. Sussex converted.
9. Wilfrid's appeal to Rome; superiority of Rome over Saxon England Council of Cloveshoo.
10. Union of the heptarchy. The Danes attack monasteries. Ethelwulph's grant to the church tithes had been previously mentioned: they are sometimes spoken of as due by divine right
11. Alfred educates England; he translates many books into Saxon; his general information, establishes a school for his son, foreign kings educated in England, sends an embassy to the Syrian Indians.
12. Odo and Dunstan. The Danes incorporated with the English. Wealth of the church.
13. Imperfection of this sketch; materials defective; the subject one of curiosity rather than utility. Errors of the church of Rome generally those of human nature.
14. Debt due to Rome; probable date of the perversions of doctrine, and their introduction into England.
15. Prayers for the dead; in early use; history of the doctrine of purgatory; common to many religions. prayers for the dead not necessarily connected with it Traces of the doctrine among the Anglo-Saxons. Popular notions of it in the time of Bede and Alcuin
16. Transubstantiation. Waterland's account of the history of it; probably not received by the Anglo-Saxons Elfric's homily Bertram.

17. Mass ; believed to be a sacrifice for the living and dead
18. Pictures and images. The decrees of the second council of Nice rejected by the British church. Image-worship established in England before Alfred's time. Prayers addressed to saints about the same period. The doctrine of the Saxon church
19. Relics , natural respect for them , sent by Gregory to Augustin. The devotions paid at the tombs of the archbishops of Canterbury produce disputes about the bodies of the primates
20. Pilgrimages ; early made by the English to Jerusalem and Rome. Many Saxon kings visit Rome. Abuses arising from pilgrimages , the Penitential Canons enjoin them.
21. Confession , penance. Difference between the churches of Rome and England with regard to auricular confession. Penances ordinarily imposed. Commutation of penance
22. Celibacy of the clergy. The council of Nice endeavoured to impose it. Custom of the Greek church. Early established in England , but generally evaded. Evils arising from it.
23. Early ecclesiastical establishments. Monastic establishments useful at first , favourable to civilization ; attacked by the Danes. Most of the clergy married during these times of disturbance ; dependence on the apostolic see arising from celibacy. Holy water. Service in Latin. Lights in churches. Lord's prayer, Creed, and Gospel, explained to the people
24. Progress of Errors in the church of England. Purgatory and transubstantiation first believed, and then made profitable to the priesthood. Errors introduced into the Anglo-Saxon church by degrees from Rome.
25. How far the errors of the church destroyed Christianity. When errors in doctrine destroy the hopes of salvation. Evil tendency of errors in faith
26. Inadequate view of the atonement. Correct faith in the Trinity. Expressions marking false notions of good works. The Anglo-Saxon church much corrupted in doctrines, and the way prepared for greater errors.

CHAPTER II. p. 27.

51. There existed a continual struggle between the church and state. We must regard churchmen as advocating the rights of their order
52. William I. was possessed of full power over the church. Ecclesiastical property subjected to civil service. Most of the English clergy ejected. Papal legates introduced into England. The ecclesiastical courts separated from the civil.
53. The influence of Rome arose from the vices of our kings. The clergy a balance between the crown and aristocracy, and beneficial to the lower orders. Rome interfered to support the just rights of the church, and so gained power. Anselm and William II.
54. Anselm appeals to Rome illegally. William admits the authority of the pope, and the legate confirms Anselm, who nevertheless flies from England. Investitures.
55. Henry recalls Anselm ; the dispute between them compromised. Celibacy of the clergy insisted on in vain.
56. Stephen increases the power of the pope by his injustice. The bishop of Winchester summons the king before him. Perjury promoted by dispensations. The miseries of England.

57. Henry II accepts a grant of Ireland from the pope Becket Exemption of ecclesiastics from civil jurisdiction Constitutions of Clarendon. Becket is persecuted, and flies.
58. He is received by the court of France and the pope, Henry very violent; Becket equally so, an outward reconciliation is made in vain.
59. Becket murdered, miracles at his tomb Henry submissive to the church Becket's character.
60. Heresy first punished, 1160 Gerhard and his followers, their opinions uncertain
61. Interference of Rome. Convent at Hackington; at Lambeth. Tax imposed on the clergy by the pope
62. John Dispute about the election of an archbishop of Canterbury; Stephen Langton appointed by the pope England laid under an interdict, and John excommunicated
63. Philip of France proceeds to depose John, the barons discontented. John submits to the pope. The pope adverse to Magna Charta The council of the Lateran declares transubstantiation to be a tenet of the church.
64. Papal power. Further exactions from the clergy refused.
65. Greathead opposes the papal usurpations, esteems the pope anti-christ.
66. Edward I Increased power of the clergy. Statutes for trying clerks by a jury, and of Mortmain Heavy taxes imposed on the clergy. The bull to free ecclesiastical property from taxation was inefficacious.
67. Growth of the papal power.
68. Disputes between the crown and the church on temporal rights drove the church into the arms of Rome, and then induced the crown to submit to the authority of the pope
69. The church taxes itself, the oppression of the crown induces churchmen to acquire temporal power, which could alone defend their property
70. Source of the power of Rome, a centre of combination for churchmen, and of defence against the oppression of the crown The vices of Rome its only weakness.

CHAPTER III. p. 41.

101. Abuses must become galling to the people before they create any great anxiety to remove them.
102. Political abuses connected with the church of Rome; attempts to limit the papal power, not to destroy it; injustice of the exclusive jurisdiction of the clergy.
103. Wealth taken out of the kingdom; papal provisions. Foreigners holding preferments Annates. clergy taxed by the pope Peter's pence, bribes for aiding suitors; papal officers spies. The right of sanctuary injurious to the country.
104. Statutes to restrain the papal power. Mortmain; impolicy of the enactment. Provisors. Præmunire.
105. Moral abuses; corruptions of the court of Rome Pride and luxury of the clergy; celibacy, worldly employments; ignorance; mendicant orders.
106. Doctrinal errors of the church of Rome. Idolatry; pilgrimages; pardons, transubstantiation.
107. Small hopes of Reformation from Rome itself; inadequacy of canons; dispensations profitable to Rome.

108. Wiclif distinguished at Oxford ; writes against the covetousness of the court of Rome.
- 109 Expelled from the Wardenship of Canterbury Hall ; an enemy to the friars ; disputes on the arrears claimed by the pope , takes the degree of D.D , reads lectures.
110. Compromise with the pope about provisions. Peter's pence re-demanded ; Wiclif declares them not to be due ; offends the pope and clergy
- 111 Wiclif brought before S. Sudbury, in St. Paul's ; his doctrines approved in Oxford , Wiclif brought before the archbishop at Lambeth , sends in a declaration of faith on certain points
- 112 He labours under a severe fever, the friars visit him ; translates the Scriptures ; opposes transubstantiation ; summoned before commissioners in Oxford ; leaves the university ; reported to have recanted
113. Prepares his mind for martyrdom. Statute against heretics , dies of the palsy.
114. His great learning and good qualities ; opposes the temporal power, and the doctrines of Rome ; both these are endangered by his preaching.
- 115 Opinions of Wiclif adverse to the papal supremacy
116. He asserts the duty of the laity to take away church property which is misused. Celibacy ; vows taken early in life a great snare. The Scriptures his ultimate standard.
117. He differs from the church of England with regard to purgatory ; and deems episcopacy not a distinct order.
118. Seven Sacraments. Baptism. Confirmation not confined to bishops. Absolution and confession. Matrimony. Pilgrimages. Images.
119. Transubstantiation. The first formal determination on it in England. He held sound doctrines with regard to the atonement and sanctification.
120. The Lollards numerous Poor priests. His doctrines promote disturbances. Oxford friendly to his doctrines ; gives him letters testimonial.
121. Proclamation against the Lollards ; their petition. Henry IV. grants power to the church Statute *De hæretico comburendo*.
122. William Sawtre burnt ; succession of martyrs ; their examination, chiefly on transubstantiation, and submission to the church.
123. Lord Cobham had joined Henry IV. In the reign of Henry V. he diffuses the doctrines of Wiclif Henry tries to convince him of his error.
124. He is brought to trial ; his examination resembles that of Thorpe , their answers correspond with the opinions of Wiclif. Lord Cobham escapes , he denies a fictitious recantation which had been published ; he is hung in St. Giles's field.
125. A previous disturbance had taken place there ; with which Lord Cobham had probably no connexion
126. Peacock promotes the Reformation by excusing Romish errors, and analysing what was innocent in them ; he is made bishop of St. Asaph, and Chichester ; and deprived of his preferments.
127. He offended by supporting the papal power on sound principles, and thus actually betraying its weakness. Images. Pilgrimages.
128. Defends the supremacy and a variety of religious orders, but blames the abuses into which they had run.
129. The Bible the standard of his faith , his opinions not far from those of Wiclif ; possessed of no great talents.

- 130 A continued succession of martyrs Depravity of the religious orders.
- 131 Summary of the history. Reasons why power is given to the ministers of the Gospel. Misused by the church of Rome.
- 132 The establishment still useful as a political engine The papacy a check to the crown. Importance of ecclesiastical appointments, the right to them is disputed between the lower clergy, the pope, and the king
- 133 This competition arose from the value of preferments. Bishoprics at first elective, when they became valuable, they were sought by the king, and the court of Rome stepped in to defend the clergy, and to take the appointment into her own hands
- 134 The wrong appointments of each party destroyed the benefit of the establishment, and as this arose from the wealth of the preferment, the reformers inveighed against this
- 135 Real difficulty of the question; considerable power then necessary to defend the property of the church, which was useful in promoting peace and civilization, this power abused, and a reformation absolutely necessary. Bishoprics appointed to by the crown. Wiclif and his followers inveigh against any temporal power in the hands of churchmen.
- 136 Offices of state in the hands of churchmen. Exclusive jurisdiction Papal power dependent on false doctrines, and these attacked by Wiclif His translation of the Bible showed the people the truth. and persecution directed their attention to it
- 137. Steps towards a reformation. Wealth of the clergy observed and reprobated The existence of an English translation, of tracts, and preachers who were ready to suffer Many persons of rank convinced. Wiclif foresaw the final effect of truth We must look up through the instruments to the great Artificer

CHAPTER IV p. 67

- 151 Causes of the Reformation, discussion, extension of knowledge Bill subjecting all robbers to the civil power A preacher inveighs against it
- 152 Hunne dies in prison. Coroner's verdict of murder against the chancellor Hunne's body burnt. The king supports the civil power
- 153. Compromise about Horsey, the chancellor. Irritation of the people Imprudence of the clergy.
- 154 Vices of the clergy Wolsey
- 155. Wolsey, history of Fox introduces him to Henry VIII. His rise Influence over Henry His honesty unnecessarily questioned.
- 156 Wolsey spoils Henry; his good qualities and faults.
- 157 Henry's book against Luther. Greek literature; patronised by Henry and Wolsey The study of the Scriptures. The cardinal's college Colet reads lectures in St Paul's, accused of heresy. Ignorance of the clergy Gospel of Nicodemus set up at Canterbury. Printing
- 158. The divorce: causes of it Henry VIII. protests against the marriage He fears the curse of dying childless Wolsey accused of insinuating scruples into the king's mind by means of Longland. Henry probably entertained them before his love for Anne Boleyn
- 159. Proposals made to Clement VII Campeggio sent to England, he brings a bull with him, which he afterwards burns, he causes delays, and at last postpones the decision
- 160 The cause transferred to Rome. Wolsey's fall; he is unjustly treated
- 161. Wolsey submits, goes to York, and dies; his character; a good minister; weak after his fall.

162. The decision of the question of the divorce referred to the Universities; those of England and France declare the marriage illegal
163. Decisions against the marriage. Clement still deceitful The clergy in England comply with the wishes of the king, through fear, and with difficulty acknowledge his supremacy
164. The parliament object to the power of the clergy First-fruits taken from the pope. Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, his objection to the oaths to the pope
165. Divorce declared. The king had refused to appear by proxy. Difficulty of arguing against the papal dispensation before the pope. The delay of a messenger hastens the decision
166. Laws against the pope Supremacy of the king The power of bishops' courts curtailed. Succession. Oath of supremacy
167. More and Fisher sent to the Tower The Maid of Kent.
168. Character of Sir Thomas More and his death
169. Character of Fisher; his death. Margaret professorships
170. The clergy are hated, the causes of this Persecutions: Bilney, Byfield, Tewkesbury, Bainham, Tracy, Harding, Hewett, Frith. Purgatory attacked
171. Supplication of beggars. Practice of prelates.
- 172 The papal supremacy not more arbitrary than that of Henry. The Scriptures, and the discussion of religious questions.
173. The effects of persecution, of burning the Scriptures. Story of Tostal.
174. Review of the Reformation. Character of those who were chiefly instrumental in producing it; Henry, Wolsey, Sir Thomas More, Clement.

CHAPTER V. p 86.

201. The church of England must be dated from the divorce. The clergy irritate the king. Franciscans executed Visitation of the church. Inhibition sent to the bishops; their ecclesiastical authority restored to them by a commission from the king. The bishops raise no opposition
202. The king's object in dissolving monasteries. Cranmer's instructions given to the visitors. Voluntary surrenders. All monasteries under 200l per annum given to the king. Number of these foundations, they bring little profit to the crown.
203. Execution of Anne Boleyn, her innocence. Divorce. Cranmer. Henry reconciled to Mary.
- 204 Henry marries Jane Seymour. Act of Succession. Acts of parliament against the pope's authority.
205. Convocation. Alesse argues against the five sacraments. Parties now formed in the church. Articles put forth.
206. Abstract of the Articles.
207. Proclamation of the clergy in favour of real reform
208. General council assembled at Mantua. Henry is summoned to appear The convocation and king reject the summons Cardinal Pole writes against the king.
209. Surrender of monasteries; distress occasioned thereby. Some religious houses re-founded. Pilgrimage of grace. King's letter to the bishops.
210. Northern rebellion suppressed. Many executed
211. The suppression of monasteries hastened by this, a new visitation appointed, disorders discovered in many of them, exceptions.

212. Surrenders; small benefit derived to the crown Shrines, &c, destroyed
213. *Bishop's Book* and *King's Book*.
214. New line of policy adopted by Gardiner Corporal presence in the sacrament. Difficulty with regard to the Lutheran states The sacramentaries
215. Lambert, brought before Cranmer, appeals to the king, his trial; the event of it, he is burnt, with very great suffering.
216. Proclamation against the marriage of the clergy. Cranmer screened.
217. The king angry with the Protestants because they refused to grant him all the church property. The Six Articles, Cranmer argues against them, the penalties imposed by them severe
218. Act for the suppression of monasteries, for the erection of new bishoprics; to sanction the king's proclamations Cranmer little affected by the law of the Six Articles Latimer and Shaxton resign their sees Proclamation for printing the Bible.
219. Henry marries Anne of Cleves. Fall of Cromwell; Cranmer speaks for him, he is condemned by an act of attainder.
220. Cromwell's character.
221. Henry divorced from Anne of Cleves, she resides in England. He marries Catharine Howard Power of the Roman Catholics Martyrdom of Barnes Observation of Lord Herbert on persecution.
222. Proclamation in favour of the Bible. Execution of the queen, an attempt to suppress the Bible; the examination of the translation referred to the universities.
223. Injunctions put forth by Bishop Bonner; preaching forbidden Homilies published Writing sermons An act of parliament for and against the reformers as to burning heretics and reading the Bible; great power granted by it to the king. *The Necessary Doctrine* published.
224. Catharine Parr Persecution at Windsor Plot against Cranmer, his forgiving temper Latany put forth in English, with other prayers.
225. Reformers advanced to the bench Chapels and chantries given to the king, alarm of the universities The king's judicious speech about religion, his persecuting conduct. Shaxton. Anne Askew burnt, her supposed connection with the court.
226. Cranmer's danger, the ill conduct of the council towards him Danger of the queen, she becomes acquainted with it, and parries the blow.
227. Lord Surrey's execution. Danger of attainders. Number of persons executed during the reign. Henry's character; he was ungrateful to his servants, but well served, he was selfish
228. He was possessed of considerable natural talents and virtues, but these were all spoilt by want of restraint over himself; cruel, liberal minded when not irritated, with all his vices a great instrument in the hands of Providence, which worked good out of evil.
229. The papal power thrown down by opinion as well as law. The people taught to think for themselves. The clergy plundered, and deprived of the means of acquiring wealth by the attack which had been made on the doctrine of purgatory. The Bible dispersed, and children instructed
230. Corporal presence still held. Celibacy. The service in Latin Ecclesiastical Courts Auricular confession, the evils of it
231. The influence of the Reformation in Germany not considerable during this reign.
232. The Protestants write to England and France Henry answers them. He sends ambassadors to Smalcalde and Brunswick. Agents sent to London. The points to which they object. The act of the Six Articles puts an end to the whole discussion.

APPENDIX A TO CHAPTER V p 112

ON THE DISSOLUTION OF MONASTERIES

241. The question to be examined Whether the transfer of property and the Reformation, and whether it was beneficial.
242. Monasteries originally rich, and useful as places where the arts of peace were securely exercised.
243. The Danes restore monasteries. Benefit of the right of asylum.
244. Lay fiefs a premium on war; ecclesiastical foundations on peace, and therefore practically beneficial
245. Architecture, literature, and trade promoted by them
246. By degrees they become less useful
247. Monasteries favoured by the people, because they supported the young branches of the nobility and gentry; and were good landlords and charitable to the poor Celibacy directed the exertions of every churchman to the extension of his order
248. The monastic establishments would hardly have been thrown down without some external force, this was provided in the rapacity of Henry The doctrine of purgatory examined Many plans for the application of the wealth of the dissolved foundations.
249. Henry's plans construction of harbours Bacon's, a seminary and diplomacy.
- 50 Impropropriations continued, a great evil.
251. Question as to the application of the Church revenues Education promoted by assisting those who are already possessed of the means of instruction. University wanted in the north of England
252. Lands of corporate bodies are comparatively unproductive Activity of education promoted by competition.
253. Evils and hardships immediately arising from the dissolution of monasteries
254. It is wonderful how easily the property was taken away from the monasteries, it ultimately fell into the hands of the industrious
255. At the time the transfer was most injurious.
256. Destruction of property and libraries, loss to history.
257. Many persons thrown out of employment; there were then too many agricultural labourers.
258. Amount of the transfer of property; the effects of it injurious at that time.
259. The ultimate results beneficial Benefits of a church establishment The laity chiefly instrumental in bad appointments.

APPENDIX B. TO CHAPTER V p. 125.

DOCTRINES PREVALENT AT THE END OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII

271. Three treatises put forth by authority. The doctrines contained in these retrograde.
272. The articles inserted in the *Institution*. Points in which the *Erudition* had advanced towards the doctrines of our church. The order of the Thirty-nine Articles convenient for examining these doctrines. Arrangement of the tracts themselves
273. With regard to the Trinity, the church of England agrees with that of Rome.

- 274. With regard to the standard of faith, the difference is greater in appearance than in reality. The Decalogue admitted, exception of the fourth commandment.
- 275. Original sin. Freewill. Justification by faith. Good works. Works done before Justification, and of supererogation.
- 276. Christ alone without sin. Repentance. Predestination. Universality of redemption. Salvation through Christ alone. These doctrines not so distinctly laid down as in the Thirty-nine Articles.
- 277. Articles relating to the church. Errors of Rome not stated. Diversity of rites does not destroy unity. Purgatory, masses, and exequies. Images. Invocation of saints.
- 278. Seven sacraments; difference with regard to different sacraments. Baptism; penance, and the Lord's supper. The other four not equally necessary. The difference as to the manner in which the church of England holds these is merely concerning the name. In baptism the chrism retained.
- 279. Penance or repentance, the sacramental part of it consists in absolution. Doctrines of the churches of England and Rome; that of the *Erudition* nearer the church of Rome; danger of this doctrine. Orders; two only mentioned in Scripture, different from either the church of England or Rome. Confirmation. Extreme unction.
- 280. Transubstantiation. Matrimony. Celibacy of the clergy.
- 281. Traditions and ceremonies. The king's supremacy.
- 282. In doctrinal points the *Erudition* made small progress. Differences between the two churches. Papal infallibility the curse of Rome.
- 283. Points of difference between the *Institution* and *Erudition*. Transubstantiation; ceremonies, justification by faith, in which the latter had gone back as to its doctrines.

CHAPTER VI p. 185

- 301. Lord Hartford made Protector. Cranmer retiring in his disposition. Wriothesley injudicious, this circumstance favourable to the Reformation.
- 302. The common people hasty in reforming, some persons reprimanded for it. Cranmer anxious to destroy images. Gardiner writes in favour of them.
- 303. Henry VIII left money for masses and obits; the progress of opinion not rapid; delayed by giving preferments to monks who had been turned out from monasteries. Poverty of benefices a hindrance to the Gospel.
- 304. Opponents to reformation strong. Cranmer uses civil authority against them. Visitation for ecclesiastical matters. Images which had been abused to false devotion, to be taken down.
- 305. First book of Homilies published. Erasmus' Paraphrase to be set up in every church. Petition for the dead altered. Injunction sent forth.
- 306. The reformers strengthened by the success in Scotland. Severity used towards opponents. Bonner and Gardiner sent to prison. Mary remonstrates, and objects to any alterations during her brother's minority.
- 307. The parliament repeal the severe laws. Communion in both kinds granted the laity. Private masses forbidden. Laws about bishops and their courts. Chantries given to the crown; alarm about colleges.

308. Images removed. Proclamation against innovating. Communion examined, questions proposed, many superstitious notions still retained.
309. Communion Service published. Auricular confession left optional; the evils arising from confession have made Protestants neglect it. These arose from the corruption of the early customs of the church. The church of England recommends it, but neglects it.
310. Gardiner imprisoned for refusing to preach according to notes given him from court. Cranmer's Catechism.
311. Bill for the marriage of the clergy. The law of God does not enjoin celibacy, and the imposing it is injurious to morals. The secular clergy bound by no oath.
312. Psalm singing. Fish enjoined to be eaten on fast-days, to support the fisheries. Sir Thomas Seymour, the admiral, executed.
313. Ecclesiastical visitation. Examination of points of faith. Transubstantiation. Consubstantiation. Doctrine of the church of England.
314. Disputations in Oxford and Cambridge on transubstantiation.
315. Anabaptists, confusion about them, a commission appointed against them. Joan Bocher burnt. Edward unwilling to sign the warrant; Cranmer urges him. George Van Pare burnt.
316. The new Liturgy drawn up with great moderation. Wisdom of having the old prayers in Latin, an odd argument in its favour.
317. Infant baptism and predestination the causes of differences in the church. Dissolute morals prevalent. Labourers out of employment. Risings in Norfolk and Devonshire. The demands of the rebels.
318. Bonner deprived of his bishopric for not preaching as he was directed.
319. The fall of Protector Somerset. The earl of Warwick (duke of Northumberland) joins the reformers. Old service-books destroyed. Ordination service prepared. Heath sent to prison.
320. Gardiner detained in prison, and deprived of his bishopric.
321. Hooper entertains scruples about the dresses, Cranmer, Ridley, and Bucer argue against him. The question of conformity.
322. Common Prayer reviewed. Prayers for the dead, exorcisms, &c, objected to by Bucer: his book given to Edward VI. Edward's own book.
323. Ridley made bishop of London, his visitation. Altars changed into communion-tables. Preaching on week-days stopped.
324. Many foreign Protestants fly into England. John A'Lasco the superintendent of the churches in London. Many learned men received by Cranmer. His plan of a Protestant union.
325. The Forty-two Articles prepared, no grounds for deeming them a compromise of opinion.
326. Common Prayer altered. Six kings preachers appointed and sent through the country.
327. Mary's chaplain imprisoned for saying mass: she will listen to no arguments on the subject.
328. Execution of the Protector. His death attributed to the duke of Northumberland. Means taken to injure him in the opinion of his nephew.
329. Acts of parliament. Liturgy, holidays; fasting, eating fish; marriage of the clergy. The parliament dissolved.
330. Commission for reforming ecclesiastical courts. Poverty of the church. Degrading employments of the clergy. See of Gloucester suppressed from poverty. Spoliation still carried on.

- 331 See of Durham divided by act of parliament. The palatinate given to the duke of Northumberland, and Tonstal deprived for misprision of treason. The larger Catechism (Ponet's) authorized
- 332. Edward's foundations: St Bartholomew's hospital, Christ's hospital, and Bridewell
- 333. The duke of Northumberland persuades Edward VI. to leave the crown to Lady Jane Grey; the crown lawyers unwilling to draw the deed; Cranmer unwilling to sign it, Judge Hales refuses
- 334. Edward near his death, his character, by Cardan Cranmer's and Ridley's speech to Cheke
- 335. State of the church of England. The lower orders not generally fond of the Reformation, the upper orders bribed to approve of it, the clergy averse to it. Morals depraved by the transfer of property, and the destruction of the power of the ecclesiastical courts
- 336 Erastianism of the church of England. The question discussed, whether the religion of our church be a parliamentary one Too great temporal power of the church of Rome produced a reaction.
- 337. The power opposed to reformation considerable, danger of delay from the state of the king Opinions of Cranmer very Erastian
- 338. Churchmen drew up the reforms; the parliament or king sanctioned them. The alterations must depend on their own merits
- 339. The commissions granted to the bishops destroyed the nature of a ministry. The bishops generally entertained opinions at variance with them, and their acts must be valid This does not decide whether Cranmer were wise in his proceedings.
- 340. There was not only need of reformation, but of restraining innovators, and the exertion of the temporal power was probably alone adequate to both these ends. It cast out superstition and preserved episcopacy, and the decent ceremonies of religion.
- 341. Our standards drawn from Lutheran sources. Melancthon invited to England, and consulted with regard to the Articles of 1536; many of the Forty-two Articles borrowed from him; article on consubstantiation. Services formed from Lutheran sources
- 342. The documents of our church not original; wisely borrowed from other sources She altered as little as she could; and where she was forced to alter, borrowed from previous reformers. This the wisest plan of proceeding.

CHAPTER VII. p. 168.

- 351. The religious opinions of Mary unfavourable to her cause Some persons doubt as to Edward's power of leaving the crown by will Lady Jane Grey.
- 352. Mary proclaimed queen; her error in promising more than she could perform, or perhaps meant to do
- 353. Gardiner chancellor; his prudence in wishing to bring matters connected with religion to the state in which Henry VIII. left them; afraid of Pole. Precipitancy of the Roman Catholics Bonner reinstated in his see.
- 354 Prohibition of preaching. Restoration of the deprived bishops Mary hostile to her Protestant friends, many Protestants fly beyond sea. The bishops prepare for persecution.
- 355. The parliament repeals the act of Edward Lady Jane Grey attainted; Cranmer comprehended in the bill.

356. Cardinal Pole legate, his arrival delayed by the advice of Gardiner
The idea of any personal attachment on the part of Mary unfounded
The parliament unfavourable to the Spanish alliance and to the
papal supremacy.
357. The convocation attacks the Common Prayer and Catechism. Six
Protestants advocate the cause of the Reformation, their arguments
borne down by clamour.
358. Public disputations useless, a remark of Weston The supposed in-
fallibility of Rome incompatible with free discussion
359. Dislike to the Spanish match Wyatt's rebellion. Mary strengthened
by it Lady Jane Grey executed Severity in the other executions
360. Anti-reformation The married clergy are ejected Bishoprics void
Haste in these proceedings.
361. Abrogation of oaths Disputation at Oxford. Patience of the
sufferers
362. The prisoners at Oxford appeal to heaven, those in London decline a
disputation, declaration of faith published by them
363. The marriage of the queen produced no respite to the reformers.
Revenge mixed with persecution The evil temper on both sides.
364. Reconciliation with Rome Attainder of cardinal Pole reversed, his
arrival in England, he inveighs against those who detained church
property; bull of Paul IV. against them. Gardiner's policy
365. Discussion with regard to persecution. Gardiner's sufferings, his
book on the divorce republished. A sort of inquisition established
366. Persecution, little effect produced by it, general feeling against it
Philip and Alphonsus oppose it Mary soured by Philip's neglect
367. Steps for detecting heretics; torture employed Thanks given to those
who sanctioned persecution Many fly or apostatize. Disputes in
Germany. Troubles at Frankfort.
368. Pole adverse to persecution; overruled by Gardiner. Gardiner's death
and character
369. Foundations of Mary; her sincerity in this Reforms passed in con-
vocation. Pole intends to publish the remodelled Institution of a
Christian Man, and a New Testament
370. Cranmer burnt, his degradation by Bonner and Thirlby; his fall;
reflections on it; his condemnation after recanting fortunate for
him; his character; what our church owes to him.
371. More persecutions Ministers everywhere found to carry on their
task. Housekeepers ordered to keep their apprentices from burnings.
Books brought from abroad, dissensions there.
372. Cardinal Pole consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. Mary establishes
religious houses; destroys documents unfavourable to her friends
373. Visitation of the universities; they disturb the bones of reformers.
Commission granted to Bonner. Pole unable to restrain perse-
cution.
374. Paul IV. enraged at Pole; takes away his legatine powers Peto re-
fused admission into England Loss of Calais. Money granted by
parliament More persecutions; numbers who suffered during the
reign; people forbidden to pray for the sufferers
375. Death of Mary; her character; sincere; morose. Death of Pole, his
character.

CHAPTER VIII p 188.

- 401 The varied prospects of Elizabeth on ascending the throne. Fears
from the Roman Catholics. Errors of the late reign.

- 402 Prudence of her conduct. She sends to Philip, to Rome. Paul IV. refuses to acknowledge her as queen; a step injurious to the Roman Catholics of England. She strives to unite all her subjects. A committee appointed to examine the church services; some prayers allowed in English. Preaching forbidden. Her personal deportment conciliating.
403. Coronation performed by Oglethorp. the other bishops refuse to assist Parliament. The supremacy is restored to the queen without the name. Oath of supremacy imposed, with severe penalties in case of refusal.
404. Tithes and first-fruits restored to the crown. Power of exchanging property between vacant bishoprics and the crown: the evil of this.
- 405 Act of Uniformity. Disputation held in Westminster Abbey; the confusion which ended it is due to the Roman Catholic bishops; points disputed. Objections of the bishops to any discussion before the laity.
406. The convocation is adverse to reform. Injunctions set forth. Declaration concerning the supremacy. High commission established.
- 407 Ejection of the Roman Catholic clergy. Appearance of combination among the bishops, they were treated generally with moderation. Heath. Bonner dies in prison. One hundred and eighty-nine clergymen ejected, many of them holding high preferments, the conciliatory measures of the queen.
408. Abuse of images inquired into; opinions of the queen on this point. She retains a crucifix in her chapel. Wrong in her temporizing.
- 409 Bishoprics filled up. Difficulty of consecrating the new bishops. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated. The story of the Nag's Head consecration.
410. Defective state of the clergy. Inadequate persons ordained. Poverty of the church. Its causes.
- 411 The bishops employed in their dioceses, and in preparing reforms. Jewel's *Apology* published.
412. Act concerning the oath of supremacy, injurious tendency of it. The Thirty-eight Articles published. Noel's Catechism. Second book of Homilies.
- 413 Review of the Reformation. Fundamentals of Christianity more clearly established. The rejection of transubstantiation enforces the personal responsibility of each individual Christian. The clergy the guides, not the judges of their brethren. Fallibility of the church. Political state of the clergy altered by their marriages, and their diminished wealth. Poverty of the bishops. Evils arising from the Reformation. Spoliation, subjection of the church to the state, want of ecclesiastical discipline, neglect of the means of religious improvement; confession; fasting, want of restraint over the flock in the clergy.

CHAPTER IX. p. 204.

414. The peace of the church disturbed by disputes about trifles. The church of Rome used too many ceremonies; the foreign reformers too few, their opinions adopted by the exiled English.
415. The question of dresses. When may the subject refuse to obey? When should the government press uniformity? What is the duty of an ecclesiastical officer? May it not be his duty to obey himself, without pressing others?

- 416 The act of uniformity enjoined the dresses of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI Elizabeth presses uniformity, objections to the cap and surplice; most of the clergy comply, Sampson and Humphrey refuse; they are deprived
- 417 Difficulty of judging on such questions Greater indulgence might probably have been used with advantage
418. Opinion of Jewel, who disliked the dresses, yet conformed Sandays adverse to them. Grindal complied against his goodwill Parker had entertained doubts Whitgift had petitioned against them.
419. Foreigners advise submission The Scotch church wrote in favour of the nonconformists
420. Elizabeth very peremptory. Parker irritated, and not well supported by the court the difficulties of his situation.
421. The puritans resisted the civil power vested in the hands of the bishops: and the struggle by degrees became partly political.
- 422 Both parties in the wrong Parker not suited to concession, which was at first easy He was harsh in comparison with Grindal, and un-conciliating towards the London clergy
423. Objections of the puritans Book of Common Prayer. Church music Discipline of the church Bishops and the non-election of ministers Scarcity of ministers Non-residence.
- 424 Baptismal service; sign of the cross, answers made by the sponsors. Lay baptism Churching of women. Cathedral service.
- 425 Discipline. Episcopacy, either totally objected to, or disliked, from the wealth and power of the bishops The presbytery possessed of no spiritual power. Civil liberty connected with the question.
426. Ordination without election. Want of parochial discipline The church had neither the power possessed by the church of Rome, nor the influence which was in the hands of the presbytery. Principles of spiritual jurisdiction. The want of power in the inferior clergy the real cause of complaint
427. Prophesyings; manner of carrying them on, the queen adverse to them; useful in themselves, but liable to abuse. She pillaged the church by means of an act which enabled her to exchange lands with bishops
428. Ecclesiastical commission; its power indefinite and oppressive. Commissioners of concealments The church of Norwich in danger.
- 429 Impolicy of Elizabeth in this. Insecurity of property. The queen wasteful of the property of the church and crown The clergy improvident She paid her courtiers by this means, because she would not apply to parliament.
- 430 Poverty of the church. The crown pillaged the higher clergy and they the lower. Lay patrons were often guilty of simoniacal contracts. Loss of fees and personal tithes. (a) Question of church property.
431. The church in need of quiet. The people ignorant The low church wished to innovate, the high church were negligent and covetous
432. Open rupture caused by a proclamation sanctioning the advertisements Thirty-seven London clergy ejected, they form separate congregations, and adopt the service of Geneva. Many conform, though they disliked the English service.
433. Many nonconformists at Cambridge. Cartwright opposed by Whitgift; he is silent, and vacates his fellowship The admonition to parliament
434. Convocation. Ecclesiastical law discussed Canons made, but not ratified.

435. This question before the commons. *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* printed, the discussion concerning church matters suppressed by the queen, her skill in restraining the growing power of the house, a second attempt of the house Law requiring subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. Concerning the age of priests and deacons That no lease of church property be good for more than twenty-one years, and about letting tithes
436. The universities incorporated. Poor laws established.
437. Roman Catholics; they generally conformed till the bull of Pius V. Felton affixes it to the palace of the bishop of London Severe acts against the Roman Catholics
438. Man executed Foreign seminaries. Persons and Campian.
439. The unjustifiable treatment of Roman Catholics arose from the injudicious zeal of themselves and their leaders. Association formed to revenge the queen's death. Elizabeth to blame in not marrying.
440. Treatment of the Roman Catholics; the abstract justice of it discussed. The principles on which Pius excommunicated Elizabeth incompatible with civil society.
441. How far a missionary priest was implicated in this. Persons and Campian. The modification of the bull a fallacy.
442. Foreign Roman Catholic courts rendered conciliation almost impossible; the case a pitiable one on both sides; causes of it Political character of the Reformation
443. The political tyranny of Rome aided the Reformation. The infallibility of the church leads to persecution.
444. Comparison of the executions under Mary and Elizabeth
445. Injustice of legal proceedings during this reign All parties were ready to persecute. Sampson Bacon. Puritans.
446. Presbytery established at Wandsworth. Mutual animosity. Birchett. Prophesyings put down in the diocese of Norwich The queen the real cause of severe measures. Death and character of Parker
447. Grindal offends the queen by patronising prophesyings; writes to her. The bishops ordered to suppress prophesyings. Grindal is confined to his palace, and tenders his resignation, the convocation petition in his favour
448. Character of Grindal, he conformed, though opposed to the dresses, but would not compel others to conform Elizabeth's conduct unwise. Discipline overturned. The puritans are increased. Petition of the parliament to diminish the power of the bishops.
449. What the treatment of the puritans should have been. Dissent was then totally prohibited If they had been borne with for a time, many would have come over, and the feeling of opposition to the civil government would have been avoided. Elizabeth tried to suppress sermons Conformity should have been required of those who were entering into orders, and education promoted; the growth of civil liberty would not then have endangered the church.

CHAPTER X. p. 241.

- 450 Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, strict in enforcing uniformity and requiring subscription to the three Articles; the ministers of Kent and Suffolk apply to the council, the archbishop proceeds with vigour.

- 451 Inquisitorial Articles, *ex officio mero*, dispute as to their legality, Lord Burleigh dislikes them Discussions carried on in presence of some of the court Many considerable persons hostile to the proceedings of the church Lord Leicester, Beal, and Sir F Knowles *Articuli pro clero*.
- 452 Objects of the puritans; a preaching ministry; they would attack choirs and impropriations. The introduction of the presbytery, of new ecclesiastical laws The whole stopped by the queen.
453. Parliament Acts for securing the queen's person, and against Jesuits and seminary priests, the first levelled against Mary queen of Scots. Forces sent into Holland.
- 454 Travers and Hooker, dispute between them. Hooker writes his *Ecclesiastical Polity* Travers silenced (b) Presbyterian orders
- 455 Babington's conspiracy Mary queen of Scots tried and executed The injustice of this proceeding
- 456 A bill brought in to alter the whole ecclesiastical laws Some members sent to the tower Firmness of the queen Judicious acts of convocation
- 457 Spanish Armada The good conduct of the Roman Catholics. Much blame due to Allen and Persons. Wryght and others maintain loyal opinions.
458. Martin Marprelate The press taken. Many puritans in trouble, they refuse to take the oath *ex officio mero*. A party formed to change the constitution of the church. Cartwright hardly dealt with (a) The nature of the oath *ex officio mero*.
459. No government could safely allow the proceedings of the puritans; but unnecessary severity was used towards them. Eusebius Pagit. Bishops much hated: mismanagement on their part.
460. Argument in favour of episcopacy. The question of episcopacy not settled in the New Testament; settled early in ecclesiastical history. A very strong moral proof in favour of it
461. Treatment of the libellers. The outrages of enthusiasts not properly chargeable on the puritans. The satires of Tom Nash useful
462. Severe laws against puritans and Roman Catholics, some executions of priests; the Roman Catholics themselves the cause of these persecutions. Dispute between the Jesuits and seculars Declaration of loyalty from the seculars (a). The number of Roman Catholics who suffered
- 463 Disputes at Cambridge on Predestination Barret recants. The question discussed at Lambeth.
- 464 The Lambeth Articles; the dogmatical language of them failed to produce peace or conviction in Cambridge or elsewhere Baro opposes them (a) Whether they were forbidden by authority
- 465 Greater peace in the church caused by the growing age of the queen and archbishop. The moderation of the house of commons.
466. The puritans become more moderate. Browne Cartwright repents of his violence. The writings of Hooker and Bancroft. Character of Cartwright. Good effects of moderation
467. Character of Elizabeth; her selfishness; love of money and of power; treatment of Roman Catholics and puritans.
468. In herself she was disposed to favour the Roman Catholics; their conduct offended and alarmed Protestants, she hated the puritans; was friendly to education, but very peremptory about church matters, in consequence of which Grindal remonstrated with her Her own disinclination to marriage made her dislike it in others, and particularly in the clergy (a). Marriage of the clergy.

- 469. Elizabeth was very religious, but an enemy to free and impartial discussion, she proved herself a great monarch
- 470 Death of Elizabeth, the earliest account of it her melancholy; partakes of the offices of religion; dies quietly
- 471 Little progress had been made in essentials in the church, the puritans most to blame, though they had not been treated wisely Difficulties against which the bishops had to strive Many of the bishops very unfit men Sad state of the universities

APPENDIX C TO CHAPTER X. p 266.

HISTORY OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES

- 481 The Forty-two first published in 1553 their title; appended to a short catechism, the history of their composition uncertain
- 482 The committee for reforming ecclesiastical laws appointed, 1549 Cranmer directed to frame the Articles, they were submitted to Cecil and Cheke, as well as to others; Ridley is supposed to have assisted him
- 483 Whence did Cranmer draw the Articles? The Augsburg Confession; papers of the committee of doctrines, 1540; from his own researches, and from Luther and Melancthon
- 484 The Forty-two Articles not sanctioned by convocation, few of the clergy subscribed them.
- 485. Articles examined in 1562. Parker prepares them for the convocation; they alter them, the Thirty-eight printed A bill concerning subscriptions to the Articles brought into the commons; stopped by the queen in the lords, in 1571 Elizabeth allows the bill to pass The subscription limited to the articles of faith and the sacraments The Thirty-nine reviewed by the convocation, subscribed, and printed
- 486 Controverted clause in the twentieth article; testimonies concerning it, the question agitated in the examination of Laud, 1687
- 487 Idea of the author with regard to the controverted clause. Jewel publishes the Articles
- 488 Laud not to blame about the twentieth article. The subscription at present dates from the canons of 1604. Parker and the bishops did not authorise this clause

CHAPTER XL p 274.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS

- 491. Necessity of examining the Reformation in Scotland Benefit of gradual reform. The Reformation had been long preparing in England, and advanced very slowly.
- 492 A combination of circumstances contributed to the Reformation in England, and tended to moderate its proceedings.
- 493. The light of the Reformation was much later before it broke on Scotland Deaths of Hamilton and Campbell. Further persecutions Advance of the nobility Combination between the crown and the clergy. Cardinal Beaton. Political circumstances of England and Scotland. Wishart burned.
- 494 Murder of Beaton. The castle of St. Andrew's reduced by the French. The English interest connected with the reformers, interests of these two countries. Hostility of the reformers to the government. The Congregation formed. Use of the Common Prayer.

495. Mill burnt. Arrival of Knox, his natural impetuosity Destruction of monasteries. The Reformation established Political difference between the churches of England and Scotland.
- 496 Faults of Knox, his sternness did not convince those whom he re-proved, and was dangerous to the minister himself. Advantages of mildness
497. Political tendencies of the Reformation in Scotland, founded on resistance; danger of this ground; moderation might have produced the same effect
- 498 Its moderation an argument in favour of the church of England The preference to be given to this church over that of Scotland The feelings which arose from the difference in the constitution of the two churches, productive of considerable effect in the subsequent history.

CHAPTER XII. p. 284.

501. Tranquil succession of James Dr Neville congratulates the king from the church of England A favourable impression produced by James.
- 502 The puritans eager for reform. The Millenary petition, the contents of it The difficulties in reform The bishops directed to make inquiries. James anxious for information.
- 503 The summons to the conference held out no prospect of a free discussion. Alarms of the hierarchy. Divines consulted.
504. Conference at Hampton Court. Confirmation. Absolution Baptism.
- 505 Objections of the puritans to the Thirty-nine Articles, 16th, 17th, it is desired that the Lambeth Articles may be introduced.
506. Confirmation; always performed by bishops. More objections to some of the Articles.
507. Catechism. Sabbath. New translation of the Bible Popish books. Petition for a preaching and praying ministry. Lessons from the Apocrypha.
508. Cross in baptism. Questions proposed to the children. Surplice. Marriage service. Churching of women. Ecclesiastical censures. Prophecies
509. The bishops return their answers. The king speaks in favour of oaths *ex officio*. Adulation offered to his foolish vanity The scruples of the nonconformists those of weak men. They request indulgence for certain ministers, and offend the king. The superior wisdom of the king himself.
510. Barlow's account of the conference, so favourable to the episcopal party, that it has been attacked without reason.
511. Galloway's account in reality confirmatory of Barlow's (b). Bancroft's and Galloway's accounts.
512. Convocation. Canons; they are binding on the clergy. Translation of the Bible. Prayer Book.
513. James deprives himself of the power of alienating church lands The puritans and Roman Catholics offended at the favour shown to the church.
514. The powder-plot; discovered by means of a letter, Roman Catholics implicated; Oldcorn and Garnett executed; the miracle of the straw, the church of Rome by its unwise conduct implicated its own members
515. Penal laws. Penalties for not receiving the sacrament; for refusing the oath of allegiance, for reconciling persons to the church of Rome. Disqualifications imposed on the Roman Catholics; obliged to conform to the services of the church of England.

516. The oath of allegiance not wisely drawn up, Paul V forbids Roman Catholics to take it; Blackwell takes it, and is excommunicated for so doing. Laws put in force against papists, impolicy of so doing.
517. James's plan of a college at Chelsea for controversial divinity, not much required, and soon dissolved.
518. James interferes about theological questions; about Conradus Voistius at Leyden. Burns Legate and Wightman. It was determined that there should be no more public executions. The wisdom of concealing intolerance.
519. Growing respect for the Sabbath, the point made a party question. James publishes the *Book of Sports*, many clergymen offended at it.
520. Synod of Dort; delegates sent from England, injustice towards the remonstrants; the five points. Moderation of the church of England.
521. The king favours the Roman Catholics, on account of the Spanish match. Recusants released. Abbot inveighs against toleration. Violent sermons. James publishes a letter concerning preaching, restraining the subjects of discourses, and limiting the licences, it produced no good effect.
522. Necessity of discussing politics, from their connection with the church; this will be done by examining the character of James.
523. James too weak a man to make a good king, he possessed intellect, but no firmness, and was not true to his word.
524. His ideas in church and state government were very extravagant, and his want of wisdom in talking about them created suspicions in his subjects. The puritan party was esteemed hostile to the government in both.
525. The Reformation made men think for themselves, and they began to do so in state as well as church matters.
526. Elizabeth was arbitrary but powerful, and consulted the good of the country. James, who was a weak man, and knew not how to govern, was guided by favourites, he hated the presbytery, but had abused the church of England till he came to this country.
527. He disliked the temporal supremacy of Rome, but was otherwise favourable to the Roman Catholics, and yet he persecuted them, indistinctness on the question of the Roman Catholics, ill treatment of them; their own ill conduct. Impolicy of the court in combining under the name of puritans all who in any way opposed the court. James a bad and weak man.

APPENDIX D. TO CHAPTER XII. p. 309.

HISTORY OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

531. Four periods to be examined. The variety of readings and alterations in the same version.
532. All the English versions are taken from each other.
533. Early Saxon versions; Hampole's, Wichf's; his method of translating (c); the idea of a previous translation incorrect.
534. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, Pentateuch, and Jonas. Joye makes alterations in the text.
535. Coverdale's Bible dedicated to Henry VIII.; he was not well suited to the task. Matthew's Bible formed from the two former.

- 536. Cranmer's Bible the same as Matthew's. Taverner's. An attempt at correcting the translation. which failed.
- 537. Geneva Bible, persons engaged in it, notes objected to by James I
- 538. Bishops' Bible, or Parker's Bible; tables affixed to it, marriage table.
- 539 Rhemes and Douay Bible taken from the Vulgate
- 540. Authorized version; undertaken in consequence of some observations at Hampton Court, the persons engaged; rules laid down for them; great care used Question about a new translation. Archbishop Newcome

CHAPTER XIII p 317

- 551. The government of the state influenced the affairs of the church from the stations which many churchmen held in the administration
- 552. Montague attacked by the commons. Mainwaring fined by them Both of them made bishops.
- 553. Laud urges the clergy to promote forced loans; the clergy thus invested with an office little suited to their character, and made parties to arbitrary proceedings, in the ideas of the people.
- 554 Churchmen admitted into the privy council, star-chamber, and high-commission courts. The foundation and proceedings of the star-chamber, its illegal extension, severity of its punishments
- 555 Court of high-commission The people angry at the dissolution of so many parliaments. Williams and Abbot treated severely; Abbot's real fault
- 556 Feoffees of impropriations: they act without any legal authority, accused of perverting the charity to wrong purposes; exchequered, and the property forfeited to the crown. Laud ought to have managed the charity himself
- 557. Arminianism generally prevails; particularly among those in authority in the church Declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles Bishop Davenant censured. Preachers at Oxford expelled. These acts create an hostility against the court and church.
- 558 The Sabbatarian controversy The laxity prevalent in Roman Catholic countries had been continued in the reigns of James and Elizabeth Disputes as to the name, the time of its continuance, the day of celebrating it, and the manner of observing it; faults on both sides (a). Austerities of some preachers
- 559 Richardson suppresses wakes, &c, in Somersetshire; he is brought before the privy council. The *Book of Sports* republished, enjoined to be read. The conduct of different clergymen.
- 560. Sabbatarian question discussed, difficulty of the question, folly of the court and the ill effects of this on the church
- 561. The proclamation might have done much good, if judiciously drawn up
- 562. Severity against Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton irritation produced by it they are brought back in triumph. Odium thrown on the bishops.
- 563. Severity used towards Williams. Injustice towards Osbolston; his libel against Laud. These circumstances prove the insecurity of the government.
- 564. Scotch Liturgy. Hostility to bishops in Scotland. Alienation of church property, Elizabeth fostered this. James had gradually obtained some power for the bishops, and when he came to England endeavoured to unite the two churches.

565. The steps by which James endeavoured to establish episcopacy. Assembly of St. Andrew's, and of Perth; articles of Perth.
566. The presbyterians petition Charles I. Lord Balmiranoeh condemned to death. The causes which contributed to render episcopacy unpopular. Imprudence of Charles. Bad state of the government
567. Charles prepares to send down the Scotch Liturgy, drawn up by Weederburn. Canons sent down under a proclamation, the impolicy of this. The advisers of these measures quite inadequate to the task.
568. Tumults arising from the use of the Liturgy, no one was anxious to suppress them. Hamilton the king's commissioner at Glasgow. The general assembly rescind all that had been done. The Covenant signed in Edinburgh, and a civil war begun, in which the king was unsuccessful.
569. The same process was going on in England. Laud and the bishops were alienating the minds of the people by severity, and by enforcing ceremonies; the absurdity of this conduct
570. Canons framed, the questionable nature of their authority, the absurdity of them at such a moment; their enactments: the *et cætera* oath the clergy directed to enforce them; their injurious effect with regard to the clergy. They would have made the clergy promoters of the illegal acts of the crown.
571. An outline of the state of the country; necessity of reform. The power of the king ill defined. The court of ecclesiastical commission prejudiced the nation against bishops. Laud attempted to defend corruptions, and his opponents were forced to attack the whole of the existing state of things. The impolicy of Laud consisted in alienating the moderate party. The struggle was in the state, and episcopacy was disliked as an engine of state
572. Long parliament. Committees on church matters. The crimes objected to clergymen. The injustice of these proceedings.
573. Attacks on the civil power of the church. Property cannot be retained without power. Attacks made against the votes of the bishops. They sign a protest, and are unjustly sent to the Tower. Bishop Hall's *Hard Measure*. The star-chamber and ecclesiastical commission suppressed.
574. The first steps tended to curtail the power of the bishops. When the war broke out, the loyalty of the clergy forced the parliament to destroy them as individuals, but it was on account of the aid from Scotland that the house favoured the presbytery
575. Causes of the war; the existence of real abuses, and the unwillingness of the court to reform them till it was too late.
576. Outline of the war. Edgehill. The king gains possession of Oxford. Battle of Brentford.
577. The parliament take Reading. Sir R. Hopton takes Bristol. The king loses time in besieging Gloucester. The siege raised, and the first battle of Newbury fought
578. Advance of the Scotch army. The covenant forced upon England. Battle of Marston Moor, York surrenders. The army of Essex surrenders at Fowey. Second battle of Newbury.
579. Faults and advantages of either party. The royalists were gallant and vicious. The puritans were outwardly religious, regular, and covetous of plunder.
580. Essex anxious to become the arbitrator of the war. The self-denying ordinance. Cromwell continued in his command. Fairfax, general; his merits. Cromwell the secret contriver of these plans; his talents in forming his army (a). The classes of persons who composed the two armies.

581. Campaign of Fairfax Battle of Naseby Reduction of the west. Charles surrenders to the Scotch Oxford surrenders The royalists destroyed by their own dissensions, arising from want of firmness in the king.
582. Misery of England. The injustice of the parliaments towards Laud and Lord Strafford. Charles much to blame in giving up the latter. Difficulty of drawing Laud's character.
583. Character of Laud. His objects good, his method of pursuing them unsound, difficulty of the times Laud advanced churchmen to defend the church, and increased the hatred of the people towards him; he so favoured Arminianism as to make the Calvinists his enemies; he enforced ceremonies, and engaged the religious feelings of the country against him. As a minister he made the law bend to his wishes
584. Many charges brought against him were groundless, he was guilty, but not of treason; he was not a hero, his defence pusillanimous; his greatness in his afflictions
585. The church and state were now thrown down, and it was necessary to reconstruct some form of government Archbishop Usher's plan of combining episcopacy with the presbytery. The assembly of divines called Their constitution, and numbers
586. Episcopalians, presbyterians, and independents. The presbyterians soon became the predominating faction, chiefly through the introduction of the covenant.
587. Principles of the presbyterians Republican tendency of this form of government. Much more tyrannical over the laity than the episcopal.
588. Independents. Their principles subversive of all church government Friends of religious liberty, supported by the politics of Cromwell. Erastians; they made the church entirely political.
589. Alteration of the Thirty-nine Articles The principles of church government discussed The divine right of presbytery not established Erastianism prevails. Ordination placed in the hands of the assembly
590. Works of the assembly. Directory; points in which it essentially differs from the church of England. Indefinite rules about ordination The doctrine of predestination brought forward prominently.
591. Constitution of the presbyterian church. The ministers and elders have the judicial power vested in them. The difference in this respect in the episcopal church. Deacons (a). Cause of the power in the presbytery.
592. The presbytery established in London and Lancashire only, and always under control of Parliament; objections raised to this restraint The claim of the *jus divinum* for the presbytery; it was superseded by independency.
593. Independency destroys all church discipline, the army friendly to it. The chief officers, who were also preachers, disdained spiritual control; and the politics of the army disliked the republican tendency of the presbytery Independency established in Wales
594. The object of the independents was liberty of conscience, the army joined them, and the presbyterians joined the republicans. Escape of the king; the object of allowing this. All tended to destroy the king.
595. The presbyterians might have saved Charles, if he would have joined them. His disputation with Henderson, and firm adherence to episcopacy The soundness of his arguments. At Newport the king was assisted by several divines, but his reasoning at Newcastle was safer (c). Episcopal power

596. Character of Charles The people of England had determined to pay no taxes save those which they had imposed on themselves, and the court would not concede this Laud tried to induce the church to maintain the government, but he had offended many of the lower clergy.
597. Great want of confidence in the court. The concessions, when granted to force, were to be supported by further demands, and these were necessarily grounded on the insincerity of Charles. Evidence against him as to this point The real difficulty consisted in his weakness of mind; when he had lost his crown he became dignified in his misfortunes, his virtues
598. Sufferings of the clergy. Many puritans driven to join the parliament The royalists ejected on very small grounds, and without any formal proceedings Accusations made against them, ejected for refusing to take the covenant. The parliament most unjust in this proceeding One-fifth of the value of their preferments granted to their families. Number ejected
599. Cambridge An order for respecting the property of the university disregarded. The Earl of Manchester reforms it, and ejects many members
600. Oxford, of great assistance to the king during the war. Commissioners sent there to reform it. Their authority despised till supported by soldiers. *Reasons why the university could not assent to the covenant.* The suffering royalists aided the Restoration. The university filled up. The value of such establishments.

CHAPTER XIV p. 368.

601. The history of all popular revolutions the same. Reform only safe in the hands of the upper orders The power at the end of the war was in the hands of the army, and they chose to retain it
- 602 Cromwell conquers Ireland, goes to Scotland, gains the battle of Dunbar. Charles crowned at Scone Battle of Worcester
- 603 Cromwell, by threatening the country with the prospect of anarchy, from the insufficiency of his parliaments, assumes the protectorship (b). Instrument of government.
604. The principle of his government, he attaches eminent persons to him; seeks for fit men for all situations. Justice The protector of protestants.
605. Character of Cromwell, honest and patriotic at first. His own interest led him to wish for the death of the king; he became entangled in political plans, and lost his honesty, he was severe, but never bloodthirsty, his treatment of the royalists
606. The presbyterians had generally established themselves in livings; but they could not control the power which they had raised. The government found them ill-suited to its views, and ejected them by means of the Engagement The presbyterian ministry fond of temporal power.
607. The independents raised the standard of religious liberty against the presbyterians; and when some of the presbyterians communicated with the Scotch, Mr Love was executed, their power as a church was never established.
608. Propagation of the gospel in Wales, the work of the independents; the ministers were here invested with no ministerial authority, and were mere licensed and paid teachers

609. The assembly formed the first bond of church government, and afterwards the Triers, they were vested with great power, and used it very arbitrarily, and as a political engine Oliver Cromwell's declaration against the royalist clergy.
610. Cromwell was a friend to toleration, which was granted to those who held 'the fundamentals of Christianity;' question as to the meaning of this expression He would have tolerated Roman Catholics and Jews, but objections arose from different quarters
611. The effects of the usurpation on morals; the accounts are very various.
612. Baxter's ministry at Kidderminster, he was elected lecturer, and afterwards took the sequestration of the living, he gathered a church in his own parish, and exercised discipline there Associations formed among ministers, and not confined to any party.
613. Objections to Baxter's plans Separation between the godly and ungodly Meetings of the clergy then more wanted perhaps than at present
614. Strictness of the independents as to admission into church union, they composed a confession of faith nearly resembling that of the assembly; their internal government democratic. The presbyterians publish directions about catechising.
615. Walton and Clarendon give a sad account of the state of morality. Some ministers of the Church of England continued their ministry. Sanderson and Bull. Skinner, bishop of Oxford, ordained many
616. The episcopalians spent their time in sufferings and patient study, and thus assisted the Restoration Cromwell was practically not cruel Many resided with their friends Oriental literature flourished.
617. The features of religious fanaticism are generally the same everywhere. Forms had been regarded too much, and they were now laid aside altogether.
618. Fox The conduct of the Quakers exposed them to punishment, which was often cruelly inflicted, but the fault was chiefly their own; these Quakers unlike those of the present day.
619. Anabaptists Antinomians Familists. Fifth-monarchy men. Confusion produced by these differences and a want of toleration Morality injured by it.
620. Laws against immorality very severe; concerning the Sabbath, uncleanness, and plays.
621. Laws against heretics James Navlor punished Fry expelled the house. Biddle tried for Socinianism. Corruptions produced by the war
622. Marriage made a civil contract; the wisdom of this
623. Difficulty about the succession of bishops, many methods of obviating it contrived, but rendered unnecessary by the Restoration.
624. Causes of the Restoration.

CHAPTER XV. p. 390.

650. The presbyterians instrumental in restoring the king; they provided no safeguards for their own form of government, thinking themselves too strong to be in danger.
651. The term *presbyterian* explained; they were not anti-episcopalians, but wished to confine the power of the bishop within narrow limits

652. Charles II was very civil to the presbyterians. He refuses to omit the ceremonies of the church. There was no real coalition between the puritans and the court.
653. The convention parliament contained many presbyterians; its acts prudent, which however were liable to be questioned, and several of the members were not chosen according to the writs; it is dissolved.
654. Difficulties attending the Restoration; the army is unwilling to be disbanded; some officers suspect that they had been made the tools of Monk; little money.
655. The old and new royalists, each despising the other, and each importunate to obtain preferment from the king.
656. State of the church. The presbyterians were unfriendly to the government of the bishops, who were now restored. The reversion of all church lands and livings created a vast transfer of property. Fellowships restored, some innocent persons ejected.
657. Episcopacy objected to. The presbytery sought the jurisdiction over their parishes; this the real point at issue.
658. The bishops feared that their power would be taken away, and they tried to show that no alterations were necessary, and would make no concessions to the presbytery.
659. The presbyterians wanted to show the necessity of changes, but were afraid to ask too much, for fear of offending their own party, and dividing among themselves, and equally unwilling to ask too little, lest the bishops should say that there was no cause for separation from the church.
660. Origin of the Savoy conference. The king's declaration from Breda had raised the hopes of the presbyterians, who presented a petition objecting to.
661. The discipline of the church, the Liturgy, and ceremonies; and prayed for alterations.
662. The bishops answered, that many of the evils complained of with regard to discipline were remedied by law. That objectionable points in the Liturgy might be altered, and that the ceremonies were innocent.
663. The nonconformists were induced to proceed, by a promise from the king that he would put forth a declaration to moderate between the contending parties. When this was shown to the nonconformists, Baxter drew up a violent paper, which was never presented.
664. Many alterations are introduced into the declaration by the nonconformists. A discussion at Worcester House. The presbyterians unwilling to tolerate others.
665. The king's declaration; it contains ample concessions as to the power of presbyters, the Liturgy, and ceremonies; and prays all to conform as far as they can.
666. Sir Matthew Hale attempts to convert the declaration into a law, which is thrown out. Bishops offered to some of the nonconformists; Baxter refuses one; his reasons.
667. The commission for the Savoy conference; they were to review the Liturgy, and draw up additional forms.
668. The bishops demanded at once all the objections of the nonconformists. A committee formed for all the alterations. Baxter undertakes the additional forms.
669. Baxter's liturgy. The imprudence of drawing it up; his object and plan. The faults of the work.
670. The objections to the Liturgy presented. Baxter's petition for peace; the want of moderation in it.

- 671. They object to the Common Prayer generally, to the ceremonies, and discipline, particulars in which they requested alteration
- 672. The answer of the bishops was moderate and sound, but not conciliatory. Three of the promised concessions were never really made
- 673. Answer of the nonconformists They agree to carry on a disputation. Bishop Cosins desires the nonconformists to distinguish between what was sinful and what was inexpedient in the Common Prayer. Baxter's answer
- 674. Inutility of the disputation. The time of the commission elapses through delays created perhaps on purpose. No good results from the conference
- 675. The nonconformists present an address to the king. Baxter was much to blame in the whole transaction
- 676. The concessions might have been more numerous, but the great question turned on discipline
- 677. The question of discipline is one of great difficulty. The difference between discipline and government Church government a mixture of the two
- 678. Discipline over the laity A conscientious minister may now admonish; it is doubtful whether further power would increase his spiritual utility.
- 679. The nonconformists present a petition, and state their readiness to suffer patiently the penalties affixed to nonconformity.

CHAPTER XVI. p. 414.

- 701 Little good to be expected from conferences. The best method of attempting alterations. Convocation Review of the Liturgy. Alteration of the canons Articles of visitation. Consecration of churches. Grammar. Subsidy, the last raised by the clergy; how this change was effected, and its consequences.
- 702. Act of uniformity. Its object different from that of Elizabeth. The practical tendency of the latter was, to make all conform; of the act now made, to eject as many nonconformists as possible.
- 703. A church must exclude from the ministry those who will not conform to its rules; but on this occasion moderation might have been used, for so great a change of property was an evil; and much good might have been done by augmenting small livings (a) Augmentation of small livings.
- 704. Ejection of the nonconforming clergy discussed. The country generally unfavourable to them, which gave a full power to the church of treating them as they pleased.
- 705. Moderate measures would probably have retained many nonconformists in the church; but this was not the object of the superior clergy. A saying of Sheldon.
- 706. The injustice of ejecting those who had obeyed a government *de facto*, and of making no provision for them.
- 707. If they had proceeded on the act of Elizabeth, they would have divided the party The Prayer Book published very near St Bartholomew's day: and that day selected in order to deprive the ejected clergy of the tithes of the year.
- 708 Political feelings mixed up with these measures The governing party were uncertain as to the continuance of their power. The papists promoted these dissensions.
- 709. Charles not unfriendly to toleration; he tries to soften matters; his declaration.

710. Two thousand ministers ejected: who thus evinced their sincerity. Reordination the chief difficulty. The delicacy of the question. Bramhall's and Overall's conduct about this it is unfortunate that nothing of this sort was adopted (a) On reordination
711. Severities exercised on the nonconformists The church of England tries to defend herself by exclusive laws.
712. Corporation act Select vestry act.
713. First conventicle act. Second.
714. Five-mile act; passed while the nonconformists were particularly exerting themselves during the plague
715. Attempts at a comprehension Lord Keeper Bridgman. The king's declaration for toleration. Repeal of the law against nonconformists; omitted by the clerk of the crown. Unconstitutional vote of the commons.
716. The severity against dissenters prepared the minds of the people for toleration.
717. The conduct of the nonconformists unjustifiable; they destroyed the unity of the church for their own prejudices, the laws were impolitic in comprehending them all under one class
718. Letters of foreign reformers. The nonconformists wished for certain alterations, and because they were not granted they caused a schism in the church Both parties became guilty, and taught other people moderation
719. Latitudinarians The name first given at Cambridge. Men whose moderation displeased everybody. The term applied indistinctly.
720. Laws against Roman Catholics. They are excluded from all offices, and from sitting in Parliament The Duke of York excepted The inutility of all enactments with regard to Charles II
721. Plots; Oates' The evidence questionable There was probably a general attempt to bring in the Roman Catholic religion, but no design to murder the king The severity against Oates in the next reign proves nothing
722. Dangerfield's plot There was no safety from the law, which was converted into a means of oppressing the subject
723. The danger which threatened the church was that to which the state was likewise exposed—viz., the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion by means of arbitrary power The high and low church party joined in repelling this. The court regarded the question as one of politics. The country looked upon it generally as a religious one.
724. Attempts of Charles to establish the dispensing power The country adverse to toleration, and justly alarmed at the conduct of the crown.
725. The nonconformists not worthy of praise for refusing toleration, which must have been extended to Roman Catholics. The exclusion of the Roman Catholics from civil offices not inconsistent with toleration, but can only be defended on the plea of necessity.
726. The civil history of the reign disgraceful.
727. The plague. Many of the clergy fly; their places were quickly filled by the nonconforming divines. Reformation of morals promoted by it. Athens and London
728. Fire of London The nonconforming ministers deprived of the charity which they had obtained from the city. The mutual criminations The nonconformists establish meetings. Several influential members of the establishment particularly useful. Violence of the nonconformists.

729. Dissent and hostility to the government create a reaction among churchmen, who adopt extravagant notions of government. The Oxford decree framed by Dr. Jane
730. Lord Clarendon friendly to the republicans hostile to the church. Why? Burnet's reason. In reality the presbyterians were unfit to govern. The chancellor trusted to severity, and the adoption of it convinced men of the necessity of toleration
731. Lord Clarendon supported measures of which he did not approve, his own opinions, therefore, are uncertain. The feelings of the country fostered persecution. The nonconformists would have persecuted in their turn. The church certainly to blame
732. Profligacy of Charles II, he sought ease, and arbitrary power was no further dear to him than as it procured him freedom. His talents considerable, infamous for being willing to enslave England to France
733. Profligacy fostered by religious dissensions. Fanaticism was followed by hypocrisy, by profligacy, by religious discord, but God raised up deliverance from our very misfortunes.

APPENDIX E. TO CHAPTER XVI. p. 441.

HISTORY OF THE COMPILATION OF THE COMMON PRAYER BOOK.

741. The Common Prayer Book was compiled from the services of the Roman Church. The *King's Primer* published 1545, containing the Litany and prayers, republished by Edward and Elizabeth.
742. The service for the communion after the mass, the first part in Latin, the second in English, 1548. Great moderation with regard to auricular confession.
743. The whole service in English, 1549; this differs much from the present Liturgy, and may be deemed a connecting link between the missal and the Prayer Book (b). Differences from the present Liturgy.
744. The prudence with which it was drawn up. An ordination service composed and published, 1550.
745. Review of the Liturgy, 1552. Second of Edward VI. Bucer and Peter Martyr consulted. It differs little from the present (b). Alterations between the Liturgy of 1549-1552.
746. Liturgy of Elizabeth, 1560; few alterations from that of the second of Edward VI. (b). Alterations, 1552-1560
747. Alterations introduced by proclamation, 1604 (a). Alterations, 1560-1604
748. Changes made while Laud was archbishop (a). Changes then made (b). Scotch Liturgy.
749. Alterations made by the convocation, 1661. The work had been prepared, and was quickly carried through the house. This is the present Liturgy (b). Alterations now made
750. Service for the consecration of churches; often attempted, but never authorized; drawn up by Bishop Andrews. Four political services, for Nov. 5, Jan. 30, May 29, and the Accession

CHAPTER XVII. p. 452.

751. The contest decided in 1688 was a political one. James's arbitrary notions, his very conversion to Romanism, political.

752. He aimed at arbitrary power, and preferred the principles of Romanism, because they are better suited to it than those of the church of England. His sentiments about the bill of exclusion.
753. The Protestants had driven the Roman Catholics into his arms, at his accession he promised to support the church of England; and he fancied that a party in the church would support his plans.
754. The first acts of James were arbitrary. A large revenue was settled upon him; he was blinded as to the real state of things, partly by the success with which his arms were crowned. His cruelty.
755. James's cruelty was his own. No one can entertain any great respect for the religious principles of so vicious a man.
756. In order to check the opposition of churchmen, James forbade preaching on controversial subjects, and threatened to make a new *valor* for tenths and first-fruits. The church active in the popish controversy. James appoints an ecclesiastical commission.
757. The commission furnished with ample powers for reforming ecclesiastical bodies, schools, and universities. Compton suspended for not suspending Sharp.
758. James, wishing to curb the church, issues a declaration for liberty of conscience, which totally repealed all the penal laws. In this he invaded private property, though he disclaimed the right of doing so.
759. He attempts to form a parliament favourable to his views, by unwise means. He attempts to influence the judges most illegally. The dispensing power tried in the case of Sir Edward Hales.
760. The sufferings of the dissenters, the court tried to divide them from the church, but their moderation prevented this.
761. James begins by attacking the Universities. State of Oxford. Roman Catholic heads of houses. He commands Magdalen College to elect Farmer for their president, and upon their continued refusal, Hough and twenty-five fellows were ejected. S Parker and B Giffard successive presidents.
762. James's view of the question. The University of Cambridge refuses a degree to a Roman Catholic. The vice-chancellor ejected. A similarly illegal attempt is made at the Charter-house.
763. James makes Petre a privy counsellor, and sends Lord Castlemain to Rome. These acts attributed to Lord Sunderland (a). Vicars apostolic.
764. James not friendly to the power of Rome. The Pope and his other friends recommend caution. The Pope's nuncio received at Windsor, and consecrated at St James's.
765. James sees the growing spirit of opposition, and tries to gain a parliament favourable to his views, and to abolish the test, he converses with many persons on his progress, and uses violent methods towards corporations; but became more and more mistrusted.
766. He relies on his army, and introduces Roman Catholics into it. Mr. Johnson punished severely for an address to the army.
767. When every one was offended at him, James republishes his declaration for liberty of conscience. The clergy are directed to read it in their churches.
768. The difficulty in which the clergy were placed. The bishops come forward and present a petition. Few clergymen read the declaration. Four bishops enjoin it.
769. The bishops sent to the tower. The excitement among the people.
770. Trial of the bishops. Question of the dispensing power. Opinion of the judges. They are acquitted. Joy of the people and army.

- 771 James hopes to remedy his folly by firmness Dismisses the two judges who had favoured the bishops The ecclesiastical commission exerted The good conduct of the dissenters. Sancroft attempts a comprehension. His plan
- 772 Progress of the revolution. The alarm of James made him retrace his steps when it was too late.
- 773 He consults the bishops, and follows their advice to no purpose.
- 774 The bishops refuse to sign a declaration of abhorrence with regard to the conduct of the Prince of Orange This refusal probably saved episcopacy in England
775. The bishops advise him to call a free parliament. He determines to try the army, discovers his mistake, and attempts a flight into France; he is detained, returns to London, and again flies.
- 776 Character of James; his talents, wanting in honesty, an excellent man of business, his views with regard to trade and liberty of conscience, his false notions of government
- 777 His great object was to establish arbitrary power, and for this purpose he wished to introduce the Roman Catholic religion, he always esteemed all persons who differed from his opinions as hostile to him, and fell into the hands of foolish and dishonest advisers
778. He possessed no real religion while he was king, and opposed the church of Rome, received the banished Protestants He was very deceitful in his promises about the church of England Dishonest and unwise
- 779 The birth of the prince made the country look to itself for deliverance. No ground for the supposed illegitimacy of the child.
- 780 The present struggle of a mixed nature It was mostly political, but the people regarded it as a religious one.
- 781 Conduct of the clergy Accused by the Roman Catholics and nonconformists of preaching passive obedience, till they had deceived the king This might have been the case with some, but many of them exhibited their opinions openly. Glorious conduct of the distinguished churchmen

CHAPTER XVIII p 477.

- 801 The oaths of supremacy and allegiance altered and imposed. The non-juring bishops The impolicy of imposing the oath
- 802 Inutility of many oaths General oaths sometimes useful Frequency of oaths disgraceful to us
- 803 The friends and supporters of the Revolution suffered by it Power given to William to grant incomes to some of the clergy, never used The deprived bishops continue the succession of bishops among themselves
804. The principles upon which they did this They possessed a power which the civil authority could not take away, and which therefore they continued to exercise Difference between their case and that of the Scotch bishops Difficulty of praying for William and Mary.
805. The question of the propriety of the conduct of these bishops The Revolution is not to be justified on permanent principles, but is one of those cases which are not provided for in the Bible The non-juring bishops are not to be blamed, then subsequent conduct created a schism, and is unjustifiable
806. Toleration Act passes. A commission granted for preparing alterations in the Liturgy, and reforming the discipline of the church, some of the members refuse to act (a) The names of the commissioners.

807. Intended alterations in the Liturgy
808. Prideaux's expectations from this convocation *Desiderata* in the Liturgy Form of family prayer, disuse of it arising from the circumstances of the times (b) The American Prayer Book, 1790
809. The temper of the lower house of convocation Dr Jane elected prolocutor, the causes of this, his speech The dispute about the address. The session discontinued The clergy blamed
- 810 If alterations had been made, the non-jurors would have had more apparent reason for calling themselves the old church, and of charging the others with creating divisions No good to be expected from a comprehension, yet all reasonable objections might as well be obviated
- 811 The church of England was now established by law, as it stands at present, a summary of its history, it ceased to be Roman Catholic under Henry VIII, it became Protestant by law under Edward VI.; but hardly fixed in the hearts of the people
- 812 Under Mary Romanism was restored, but by no means with full power; she persecuted from principle, and her persecutions convinced the people of the evils of popery.
- 813 Elizabeth loved ceremonies, and hated puritanism, and by her severities united those who opposed either the government of the church or state.
814. These evils were augmented under James, and his weakness and impolicy strengthened his enemies
815. Laud increased the tyranny of, and the opposition to, the star-chamber and ecclesiastical commission The canons contributed to make the ruling part of the clergy disliked, and the exclusive conduct of Laud drove many more into the ranks of the enemies of the church
816. At the Restoration some power was given back to the bishops' courts; but the persecution which was exercised arose from the house of commons, and at last convinced the country of the necessity of toleration
- 817 The church of England is an authorized and paid establishment, but not an exclusive one, and is bound to endeavour to benefit the country Such an ecclesiastical society was instituted by Christianity, but has been modified by the law of the land.
818. Evils arising from the connection between the church and state. Wrong appointments in the church Worldly-mindedness in the clergy Destruction of spiritual government, and of ecclesiastical discipline.
- 819 The blessings of the church as a moral police, and a teacher of Christianity

APPENDIX F. TO CHAPTER XVIII p 492.

Banham's conference with Latimer The death of Cranmer. L Saunders, his conduct with regard to his child and wife, his letter about his shirt Tyndale's letter to Frith, relating the firmness of his wife.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, p 503

GENEALOGICAL TABLES, p 519

INDEX, p. 523.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I. TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

1 Outline of the history of the British church 2. Evidence in favour of St Paul's having preached in Britain. Other traditions without foundation 3 King Lucius. St Alban. Constantine puts an end to persecution 4. British bishops at various councils 5 Pelagianism Schools Gallican liturgy 6 Conversion of the Saxons. 7. Augustin, his proceedings. 8 Progress of the conversion of the Saxons. Wilfred 9 Roman supremacy. 10. Danes Tithes. 11 Alfred. 12 Odo. Dunstan Wealth of the church. 13 Imperfection of this sketch 14 Origin of the errors of the church of Rome 15 Prayer for the dead Purgatory. 16 Transubstantiation. 17 Mass 18 Image-worship 19 Relics. 20 Pilgrimages 21. Confession and Penance 22. Celibacy of the clergy 23. History of ecclesiastical establishments 24. Progress of error 25 Real danger of erroneous opinions. 26 Inadequate views of Christianity among the Saxons.

THE early history of the British church, if it be regarded as a question of curiosity, may well claim the attention of those who delight in such researches, but to him who seeks only for truths which may prove useful in the formation of his own opinions, any considerable investigation into the records which are left us, can offer little beyond labour, accompanied with very trifling hopes of reward. The particulars which are to be gleaned from our uncertain and unsupported histories, may be briefly comprehended under the following heads. The island was early blessed by the dissemination of Christianity, possibly through the preaching of St. Paul; and before the end of the second century the country had generally received the gospel. Episcopacy was from the first established among us, and the British church partook in the persecutions and heresies which agitated the rest of the Christian community, and appears to have had much connexion with Gaul, but neither of these churches paid any further deference to Rome, than that which the younger sister ought to concede to her elder. The flourishing condition of this church was first destroyed by

heresy and vice, and then oppressed and overwhelmed by the arrival of the heathen Saxon, who in his turn became the civilized convert of the faith which he had once persecuted.

§ 2. With regard to the details of these events, it will perhaps be deemed sufficient if the reader be referred to those authorities where he will find all the satisfaction which can be obtained, while such particulars only are mentioned as seem from their importance to merit our further attention. Eusebius asserts,¹ that some of the apostles preached the gospel in the British isles (a). Theodoret confirms this (b), and elsewhere, after having mentioned Spain, says, that St. Paul brought salvation to the isles which lie in the ocean (c). These testimonies of the fourth and fifth centuries are supported by an expression of Clement of Rome, who wrote before the end of the first, and who relates that St. Paul preached righteousness through the whole world,² and in so doing went to the utmost bounds of the West (d). If these words are to be taken in their literal sense, little doubt can remain that this kingdom was converted to Christianity by the apostle to the Gentiles, yet such deductions must always be regarded with suspicion: and though we may not hesitate in believing that our holy faith was planted in these islands at a period not far distant from the first preaching of Christianity (e), we shall hardly

(a) — τινὰς δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐλθεῖν τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ἰνδὼν φθάσαι χώραν, καὶ ἑτεροὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους, &c. Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* lib. iii. c. 7, p. 112. Paris, 1628.

(b) Οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι ἀλλεῖς καὶ οἱ τελευτῶναι καὶ ὁ σκυτοτομος ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις τοὺς εὐαγγελικοὺς προσενηνοχασιν νόμους καὶ οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς τελοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Σκυθικά, &c. — καὶ Βρεττανούς — καὶ ἀπαξιαπλῶς πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων, δεξασθαι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τοὺς νόμους ἀίπεισαν Theodoret. *Serm.* ix. *De Legibus*, p. 619, tom. iv. Paris, 1642.

(c) Ὑστερον μέν-οι καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη, καὶ εἰς τὰς Σπανίας ἀφ' ἧκετο, καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διακειμεναῖς νήσοις τὴν ὠφέλειαν προσήνεγκε, &c. *In Psalm.* cxvi. tom. i. p. 871.

Ἀπολογισάμενος ὡς ἀθὺς ἀφείθη, καὶ τὰς Σπανίας κατέλαβε καὶ εἰς ἕτερα ἔθνη δραμῶν ἰην τῆς διδασκαλίας λαμπράδα προσήνεγκε. *In 1^{am}.* iv. 17, tom. iii. p. 506.

(d) Παῦλος — κηρύξ γενόμενος ἐν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δυσεί — δικαιο-

σύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ το τεμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν, &c. Clemens Rom. *ad Cor.* p. 6. Oxf, 1633.

(e) Tertullian who wrote about A. D. 200, and Origen 240, both speak of Christianity as fully established in Britain.

In quem enim alium universæ gentes crediderunt, nisi in Christum qui jam venit? Cui enim et alæ gentes crediderunt, Parthi &c. — Hispaniarum omnes termini et Galliarum diversæ nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita, &c. Tertullianus, *adv. Judeos*, p. 212. Paris, 1634.

Virtus Domini Salvatoris et cum his est qui ab orbe nostro in Britannia dividuntur, &c. Origenis *Hom.* vi. in *Lucam*, p. 939, iii. Paris, 1740.

Quando enim terra Britannia ante adventum Christi in unius Dei consensit religionem? Quando terra Maurorum? Quando totus semel orbis? Nunc vero propter ecclesias,

¹ Stillingfleet's *Orig. Brit.* 36

² Cave's *Life of St. Paul.* 80.

assign to this event a date so early as the reign of Tiberius, as some authors have done,¹ from misunderstanding a passage in Gildas.

The several traditions about St James, Simon Zelotes (a), and Philip,² are destitute of any ancient testimony, and that in favour of St Peter is of a very late date. The fable about Joseph of Arimathea (b), and his having founded Glastonbury Abbey,³ would have been unworthy of notice, had not Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker⁴ ventured to claim him as the first preacher of Christianity in England, but the absurdity of the whole story is fully established by Stillingfleet⁵

§ 3 Many English writers refer the conversion of this country to the reign of King Lucius,⁶ of whom the old book of Llandaff says, that he sent Eluanus and Medwinus to Eleutherius, the twelfth Bishop of Rome, requesting that he might be made a Christian through his instruction; and that on the return of these messengers, Lucius and the chief of the Britons were baptized, and bishops consecrated for the dissemination of Christianity. So many improbabilities have been engrafted on this relation, that the very existence of such a king, and the whole tale, has, without much reason, been questioned. The circumstance of his sending ambassadors to request instruction corresponds with the supposition already made, that the country had before received the truths of Christianity. and the disagreement between the two relations is the less important, as it amounts only to this, whether we suppose that the Christian religion was now first established, or that, having made but little progress, since its first foundation, it was now reformed and renewed: and the want of any sufficient testimony must preclude the idea of deciding this question. We may nevertheless assume as an undoubted fact, that Christianity was established here very generally before the end of the second century.⁷ for Tertullian says,⁸ that the kingdom of Christ was advanced in Gaul and Britain, and that Christ was solemnly worshipped by the inhabitants. From this time we meet with little concerning the British churches till we learn that England was not free from the trials to which Christianity was subjected during the third

quæ mundi limites tenent, universa terra cum lætitia clamat ad Dominum Israel, et capax est bonorum secundum fines suos p. 370. H in Ezech iv.

(a) According to the Greek menologies, Simon Zelotes suffered mar-

tyrdom in Britain. See Cave's *Apost* p. 151.

(b) It is curious that at the council of Basil the English bishops claimed precedence on the ground of the conversion of Britain by Joseph. Fuller, iv. 180.

¹ Stillingfleet, 4.

⁴ Parker, i. 139

⁷ *Orig Brit*. 50

² *Ibid*. 45.

⁵ *Orig. Brit* 6, &c

Tertull c. *Jud* ch. 7.

³ Strype's *An.* i. 218.

⁶ *Ibid* 66.

century, and the fate of Julius, Aaron, and St. Alban (*), who has transferred his name to Verulamium,¹ where he suffered, proves that the Diocletian persecution extended thus far into the provinces which were subject to the Roman power

Constantius Chlorus, when he was declared emperor, put an end to these persecutions, and upon his death, which took place at York in the year following, his son Constantine the Great began his reign, in which it pleased God that most of the outward miseries of his Christian servants should terminate. (A D 307)

§ 4. The British church seems to have flourished at this period,² for, at the council of Arles (b), there were three English bishops present; and it may be observed that the manner in which that council communicated its canons to the bishop of Rome proves that the representatives of the churches there assembled esteemed themselves quite independent of his authority.³

It seems probable that there were English bishops at the council of Nice (c) in Bithynia,⁴ but the subscriptions preserved are so imperfect, that no names of British bishops can be distinguished. Their presence, however, at Sardica (d) and Ariminum⁵ is more clearly established,⁶ and it is related, with regard to this latter council, that the British bishops generally refused to receive the allowance made to them from the emperor, while three of them only accepted it; a proof at once of the number and wealth of the British bishops who were there.

§ 5. The introduction of Pelagianism (e), which took place about

(a) St Alban, the first British martyr, had served in the Roman army, and on his return, having been converted to Christianity, was put to death. A monastery was afterwards raised to his honour by Offa, king of Mercia

(b) The council of Arles was assembled by Constantine against the Donatists, who had fallen into schism on account of the election of a bishop of Carthage. The canons of it may be found in Collier, i. 26

(c) The council of Nice was assembled by Constantine against the Arians, 325. The anathema of it is, 'The catholic and apostolic church anathematizes all who say, that there was a time when the Son did not exist, that he had no existence previous to his birth, and that he was created out of nothing, or who say that he was formed or changed from another substance or essence,

or that he is capable of change'; see Pearson *on the Creed*, p 134. This council did not make the Nicene Creed as it now stands, which was published at the first council of Constantinople, 381, it settled that Easter should be held the first Sunday after the fourteenth day of the ecclesiastical new moon. The doctrines of Arius seem to have made some progress in England

(d) This council was assembled at Sardica in Thrace, 347, to judge between the Arians and Athanasius, see Collier, i. 30, &c, where more arguments against the right of appeals to the pope may be found

(e) The Pelagian heresy had its origin from Moisan, who is generally called a Welshman, but probably was Scotus, *i. e.*, a native Irishman. (Stillingfleet, p 181) His name in the old British language signifies sea-born, and from hence is

¹ Stillingfleet, 70

⁴ Ibid 89

² Ibid 74

⁵ Ibid 135

³ Ibid 84.

⁶ Fuller, 24.

the same time,¹ filled the church with tumult and distraction. The opinions connected with this heresy were generally diffused in England, and so strongly were its advocates fortified with arguments, or so weakly were they opposed, that the British divines, finding themselves unequal to the task of convincing their heretical adversaries, were twice forced to call² in the assistance of Germanus, a Gallican bishop.³ He was accompanied in his first visit by Lupus, and in his second by Severus, and on each occasion successfully refuted the errors of his opponents. As the best means of putting an effectual stop to these heresies, St. German seems to have attempted to introduce into the island the study of sound learning and theology,⁴ and his disciples Illutus and Dubritius established schools famous in their generation. The monastery of Banchor⁵ near Chester was probably a seminary of this description, rather than one formed after the model introduced from Egypt^(a) in which the monks were bred up to labour, and in ignorance, for Bede, who is not generally favourable to British establishments, confesses that it was furnished with learned men at the coming of Augustin into England.

These bishops are said to have brought with them into the British churches⁶ the use of the Gallican liturgy,⁷ which was derived probably from St. John, through Polycarp and Irenæus

derived his classical appellation. He was of considerable rank, and possessed much learning and natural genius, his life was exemplary. He travelled to Rome, and from thence to Africa, and died somewhere in the East. (See Collier, i 41.) He denied the doctrine of original sin, and the necessity of grace, and asserted that man could attain to perfection. His opinions were opposed by St. Augustin, bishop of Hippo, and condemned in the person of Cœlestius, his disciple, at councils held at Carthage and Milevum in the year 416. no less than thirty councils are said to have been held concerning them. As the doctrines of Pelagius are of such a character that every man's own heart will naturally suggest them, unless he be guided by the grace of God, we need not wonder at their general reception. Pelagius taught and gave a name to that to which all of us are of ourselves disposed, 'self-reliance in spiritual things.'

(a) The first monks were persons who in solitude, and afterwards in private houses of their own, led more pious and retired lives than their neighbours. The wild fancies of certain visionaries who established themselves in Egypt can hardly be accounted the origin of the later institutions of this sort. Such instances of fanaticism and ignorance, often combined with some portion of knavery, are common to all periods and religions, and among Christians might have tended to pervert the minds of those who aspired after the highest degrees of sanctity. Individuals first dedicated themselves to the service of God in this manner: societies were afterwards formed, who lived under a head or abbot, and conformed to certain rules. They were originally mere laymen, but subsequently many of them were adopted among the clergy, and rose to the highest offices in the church.

¹ Stillingfleet, 187

² Ibid 194.

³ Ibid 189

⁴ Ibid 204.

⁵ Ibid 205

⁶ Ibid. 216.

⁷ Johnson's *Can*, Pref xv, who doubts of this

The principal differences ^(a) between this and the Roman liturgy¹ are stated to be followed in the Common Prayer Book of our church: so that the reformers, when they translated and made selections from the services of the church of Rome, really reduced back the form of prayers to a nearer conformity to our more ancient liturgies.

§ 6 The arrival of the heathen Saxons overturned the ecclesiastical as well as civil government, and their barbarity spread such devastation through the land, that Christianity was confined to those mountainous districts where the Britons still retained their liberty. But the records of these times furnish little more than the mere detail of uninteresting events.

Christianity was again introduced into England, now become Saxon, by the arrival of St. Augustin, in 596. The comparative tranquillity which had for some time prevailed throughout the island, and the marriage of Ethelbert, king of Kent, with Britha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, had prepared the country for its reception. She was allowed the free exercise of her religion; and her chaplain, a French bishop, had openly performed the ceremonies of the church, thus softening down that animosity towards Christianity, which a bloody struggle against its professors had excited in the minds of the Saxons. Nor, in speaking of their conversion, must we neglect to take into account the growing dissatisfaction which heathens, as they advance in civilization, must always feel towards their former superstitions, even when they continue to observe them; a disgust which the Saxons seem frequently to have displayed.² Gregory I. came to the papacy in 590, and soon put into execution a determination which he had formed while in a private station. He had been struck with the personal beauty of some English slaves whom he happened to see at Rome, and made the resolution of trying to convert their fellow-countrymen, an attempt which he would have begun in his own person, if circumstances had not prevented him. It was in order to fulfil this benevolent design, that he afterwards despatched St. Augustin with forty monks, who, having obtained interpreters in France, landed in Kent, and was permitted to settle in Canterbury, and to undertake the conversion of the inhabitants.

§ 7. The success of these missionaries was so great that Augustin was consecrated archbishop of England, by the archbishop of

(a) These consisted in a confession of sins, wherewith the service began; in proper prefaces, which were introduced for certain days before the consecration of the elements, in

several expressions which mark that the doctrine of transubstantiation had not then been received, and in the attention to singing paid in the Roman church.

¹ Stillingfleet, 23.

² Turner, i. 231.

Arles, and more ecclesiastics were sent to his assistance, accompanied with presents of books ^(a), and other articles of which they might stand in need, and among these, relics were not forgotten. They received at the same time orders from Rome, which directed them to accommodate, as much as possible, the festivals of the church to the seasons of heathen amusement and feasting ^(b). The scheme of an ecclesiastical establishment, which was to consist of two archbishops, each having under him twelve suffragans, was also transmitted to them, but seems never to have been adopted.¹

Augustin before his death,² which took place about 605, tried to bring the churches of the British into unity with that over which he presided, and insisted on three concessions only.³ That they should keep Easter at the Roman time, should use the forms of that church in baptizing, and preach to the Saxons. His efforts, however, were unavailing, and he was rejected for a supposed want of apostolical humility, though he is said to have performed a miracle in attestation of his ministry. The point at issue seems really to have been, whether the British prelates should submit to Augustin and Rome. The question about the time of observing

(a) Wanley has given a catalogue of the books sent by Gregory. These were, 1 A Bible adorned with some leaves of a purple and rose colour, in two volumes. 2 The Psalter of St Augustin, with the Creed, Pater Noster, and several Latin hymns. 3 Two copies of the Gospels, with the Ten Canons of Eusebius prefixed, one of which Elstob believed to be in the Bodleian library, and the other at Cambridge, p. 42. 4. Another Psalter, with hymns. 5 A volume containing legends on the sufferings of the apostles, with a picture of our Saviour in silver, in a posture of blessing. 6 Another volume on the martyrs, which had on the outside a glory, silver gilt, set round with crystals and beryls. 7 An Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels, which had on the cover a large beryl surrounded with crystals. Augustin also brought Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, which Alfred translated. See Elstob, pp. 39-43 and Wanley, p. 172, whose description is taken from Thomas de Elmham, a monk of Augustin's Abbey, in the time of Henry V. See also Cave,

Hist. Lit. p. 431 Turner's *Ang-Sax.* i. 332.

(b) This circumstance may account for the retention of many Saxon names in matters connected with religion. Thus Yule, the old name for Christmas, is derived from Jule, a Saxon feast at the winter solstice, and Easter from the goddess Eostre, who was worshipped with peculiar honours in April. Lent signifies spring. From the deities Tiw, Woden, Thunre, Friga, and Saterne, are derived the names of the days of the week. See Turner's *A.-S.* i. 213. Superstition has probably borrowed from the same source. *Luck* probably comes from a Saxon deity, *Loke* (Turner, i. 226, 216, 13); *Deuce* from certain demons called *Dæm* by the Gauls. *Ochus Bochus*, a magician and demon, and *Neccus*, a malign deity who frequented waters, may be the origin of the names of Hocus Pocus and Old Nick. The common derivation of Hocus Pocus, from a rapid pronouncing of *hoc est corpus*, is hardly admissible.

¹ Lingard, *Ang.-Sax. Church*, 14, Henry, *Hist. Eng.* iii. 194.

² Collier, i. 75.

³ Bede, ii. 2.

Easter was also discussed in the council of Whitby,¹ where Oswy decided it in favour of the Roman method, because both parties agreed that St. Peter kept the keys of heaven, and that he had used the Roman method of computing (*). (A.D. 664)

§ 8 In 668, Theodore, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia,² was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, on the nomination of Vitalian the then Pope, a step which he was induced to take on the death of Wighart, who, with most of his companions, was destroyed by the plague at Rome, where he had been sent in order to be consecrated. Theodore was very serviceable to the British church by the learning which he, and his friend Adrian, introduced, and is said to have advanced the establishment of parish churches, by allowing founders to become the patrons of them. He divided also some of the larger bishoprics, which, as they were then generally co-extensive with the kingdoms to which they belonged, were frequently enormous in point of size. Wilfrid, archbishop of York, whose diocese comprehended all Northumbria, or that part of England which lies north of the Humber, opposed the division of his see, and appealed to the pope.

(*) The question of the time of keeping Easter long agitated the Christian community. The Eastern church kept it according to the Jewish ritual, on the fourteenth moon of that lunation which occurred after the vernal equinox, whether it were Sunday or no. In 197, Victor, bishop of Rome, excommunicated them for so doing. They were in consequence called *quartodecimani*. In order to avoid any coincidence with the Jews as to the day of keeping this feast, most of the Western churches ran into the opposite extreme, and in those years in which the Passover occurred on a Sunday, they kept the Easter-day on its octave. The council of Nice (325) decided that it was to be kept on a Sunday, but as the British church which received its canons kept Easter on the fourteenth, when it happened to be a Sunday, it seems probable that the expression of the Nicene canon was originally so general as not to decide this point, and that the great nicety in avoiding the day of the Jewish passover originated with Rome. The Church, at the same period, generally adopted the Metonic cycle of nineteen years,

by which Easter was newly calculated in the tables of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and rejected the cycle of eighty-four years, which was very faulty, and derived from the Jews. The question in England was the general one of keeping Easter as the Roman church did. The difference consisted in two points - the British churches seem not to have used the same cycle, probably that of eighty-four years, and to have kept Easter on the fourteenth, if that day happened to be a Sunday. (Fuller, p. 68.) This had arisen from the separation of the British church from the rest of the world, during the troubles in England, which succeeded the council of Nice, of which they had adopted, in all probability, merely the general rules. The churches of Northumbria having been converted by Scotch missionaries, retained the British forms. See a note in Johnson's *Canons*, 673, 1 d. The Syrians on the coast of Malabar have another method of finding Easter, which is given in Le Bas' *Life of Middleton*, i. 291, note 1. See also Newman's *History of Arianism*, p. 14.

¹ Collier, i. 95.

² Collier, 100.

The decision of Agatho was in his favour, but it profited him little, for Egfred imprisoned him upon his return, and about a year after, upon his release, which was obtained through the intercession of Æbbe, abbess of Coldingham, he preached in the kingdom of Sussex, which had not before received Christianity^(a). This so restored him to the favour of Theodore, and Alfred, king of Northumberland, that he recovered the sees of Hexham and York, but was again expelled, and again gained a favourable decision from the pope. Alfred, however, would not allow him to enter his dominions, and it was not till after the death of that prince, and of his immediate successor, that Wilfrid was in his old age reinstated in a part of his preferments.

§ 9. The history of Wilfrid has attracted much more notice than it seems intrinsically to merit, on account of the discussions which it involves with regard to the appeal to Rome. But the question is one of curiosity, and really of very little importance^(b).

(^a) The conversion of the Hephtharchy was now completed. The order in which the several kingdoms had embraced Christianity was as follows Kent, 596 Essex, 604 Northumbria, 627 East Angles, 631 Wessex, 634 Mercia, about 650 Sussex, 678. The Isle of Wight was the district which last received the doctrines of Christianity.

The whole period occupied by these successive conversions consisted of less than ninety years. There is one particular feature which has been adduced as marking a want of simplicity in the individual missionaries to whom we owe the blessings of Christianity. It may be observed, that the conversions generally took place among the court before any progress had been made with the people, a circumstance so contrary to the tenour of the early history of the Gospel, that it has been presumed that the missionaries themselves were actuated by worldly rather than spiritual motives. The solution of this apparent difference is, perhaps, to be sought rather in the state of civilization of those to whom they went, than in the temper of the teachers. The apostles were themselves uneducated men, and addressed their arguments to more educated nations, these missionaries had probably themselves received superior educations, and were going into a

country of semi-barbarians, of men possessed of little or no education, and they naturally directed their instructions to the most exalted and best educated members of the country. Would not prudence dictate this conduct? and is not the wisdom of its adoption borne out by the conduct of recent missionaries?

(^b) The whole question of the authority exercised by Rome over Saxon England is one of great difficulty, and on the different sides of which conclusions diametrically opposite may be drawn. The primacy conceded from Saxon England to Rome, extended to the admission of its established precedency, and a respectful deference to its authorities. Theodore was made archbishop of Canterbury, by Pope Vitalian, and the Canons of Cealchythe were drawn up under the influence of a Roman legate (Johnson's *Canons*, 785, piæf), but there is abundant evidence that the judicial authority of the see of Rome was not admitted, and that the monarchs of Britain exercised an ecclesiastical power within their dominions. That is, the independence of Saxon England amounted not to our present separation from the church of Rome, and the Roman influence was infinitely less than what it afterwards became. A proposition which might probably be asserted of most other Christian

That the church of Rome did, at an early period, try to extend its power where it could, is beyond all doubt, that it did in after-times obtain a spiritual supremacy in England, is equally unquestionable. The Roman Catholic, by proving the early date of these encroachments, touches not the broad principles which guided our church in throwing off all foreign authority; and the Protestant can never prove, by denying these points, that the pope did not afterwards possess the supreme power over the English church, while both incur the danger of neglecting the pursuit of truth, in endeavouring to establish their own opinions

These observations¹ apply with no less strength to the discussions about the council of Cloveshoo, in 747, in which, though there seems no direct acknowledgment of the papal supremacy, yet since it was called in consequence of the letters of Zachary, there is every appearance of at least a great deference to the bishop of Rome. Inett² and Henry³ try to prove the independence of our church by a comparison of one of the canons with that of a synod held at Mentz, and transmitted to Cuthbert, by Boniface but were the proof as good as they esteem it, what purpose would it answer? We shall not be able to prove that our forefathers were Protestants, even if they had not then fully admitted the authority of the see of Rome We shall not allow of the other canons there established, or suffer our prayers and psalms to be said in Latin, though 'a man may devoutly apply the intentions of his own heart to the things which are at present to be asked of God, and fix them there to the best of his power.'⁴

§ 10 The union of the several kingdoms of the Heptarchy would probably have been beneficial to the interest of Christianity, had not the succeeding inroads of the Danes more than counter-balanced this advantage These heathen invaders joined a considerable portion of animosity against the Christian clergy to their love of plunder; and, as much of the wealth of the country was generally contained in the monasteries, their savage attacks were chiefly directed against these establishments, which possessed most of the learning, and much of the civilization which was left in England

(A D. 855) Ethelwulf,⁵ the father of Alfred, before his journey to Rome, made a grant of a tenth of all his possessions,⁶ or liberated the tenth part of his possessions from every royal service and

churches of the same period See and the illustrations, Henry's *Hist.*
Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 157, *Eng.* iii.
Soames, *Bampton Lect.*, Sermon. iii.

¹ Lingard, note, i. 484

³ Henry, iii. 225.

⁵ Turner, i. 480.

² Inett, i. 177.

⁴ Johnson's *Can.* 747, 27.

⁶ Johnson's *Can.* 1064, 8. e.

contribution It is not at all clear what the nature of this grant was, it has generally been interpreted as relating to tithes, but as tithes¹ are spoken of long before, there must either have been a regranting of them, or perhaps they were now liberated from burdens to which they were before exposed. One of the supposed canons of King Edward the Confessor, which were probably drawn up after the days of William Rufus,² states that tithes were introduced with Christianity, by Augustin, and there is no time in which they are mentioned, without being spoken of as due. When the first notice of them occurs in the exceptions of Ecgbright in 740, directions are given as to the disposal of them; and almost all the collections of canons which follow introduce the mention of them in the same manner.

Some of the early fathers of the church spoke of them as due by divine right³. This point, however, must always be questionable; and as the right could not exist till the country was converted to Christianity, it will be quite sufficient to state that they appear to have been collected elsewhere, before the end of the fourth century. And the numerous laws with regard to their payment, while they establish the right, prove that there was even then a difficulty of collecting them.

§ 11 The great benefit which Alfred conferred on his country, beyond the military talent which he displayed in his wars with the Danes, consisted in the introduction of literature, and the establishment of laws. The inroads of these northern hordes had overturned all institutions which might educate the inhabitants, and directed the attention of the English to warlike rather than peaceful studies,⁴ and even churchmen had become so ignorant, that few understood the services which they used, or could translate a Latin letter. The difficulties against which Alfred had to struggle were enormous. he had to discover the advantages of literature, and his own want of it, and to teach himself even to read, and that at a time when books were scarce, and when most of the libraries which had been formerly collected were destroyed. When he came to the throne, he assembled around him, by great munificence, all the literary men whom he could find, and his first steps showed him how much his countrymen had gone back in knowledge, since they were now unable to read those books which their own ancestors had written. The Latin tongue was now generally unknown, and to obviate this difficulty, Alfred translated many books into the language of his country. In presenting Boethius to the Saxons, he introduced many moral lessons and sentiments of his own, for our knowledge of which we are indebted

¹ Johnson's *Can.* 740, sect. 4. 5.

³ Bingham's *Ant* ii. 276, 281.

² *Ibid.* 1064, 9.

⁴ Turner, ii. 8, &c.

to Mr Turner; ¹ he published, too, in the same manner, Orosius and Bede; and that he might better instruct his higher clergy, he put forth a translation of the Pastoral of Gregory. Besides these, he appears to have been employed on different works and translations, and his general knowledge seems to have extended to many other subjects, as architecture, ship-building, and jewellery.² For the education of his son Ethelweard, he established a public school, in which the young nobility were brought up, together with the heir of the crown: and so greatly did this and his other institutions raise the character of England for civilization, that Athelstan had the credit of educating in our island three kings of foreign countries, Alan of Bretagne, Louis of France, and Haco of Norway ³ Nor must it be forgotten that Alfred sent an embassy to the Syrian Christians of India,⁴ whose very existence has only been re-ascertained by modern communications

§ 12 The darkness which followed the reign of Athelstan was broken by two men who succeeded each other in the see of Canterbury. Odo and Dunstan, with their real zeal for Christianity, joined a great desire of extending the influence of the church with which their own power was intimately blended. Their histories, however, have been written by such over-zealous advocates, that they have rendered even the good they did suspected, through the multitude of miracles attributed to them. Modern historians have taken an opposite direction, and the conduct of Dunstan, with regard to Edwi and Elgiva, has, without much foundation, been worked up into a pathetic tale, while, on the other hand, the monks, who were the only historians, had good reason for praising one who everywhere ejected the canons,⁵ and placed the more newly established orders in their monasteries. The Danes were, according to the policy of Alfred, gradually incorporated into the religion as well as civil government of the country, and the kings of that nation appear not to have been behindhand in enriching the church, so that at the death of Edward the Confessor, one-third of the land in England is supposed to have been in the hands of ecclesiastical bodies.⁶

§ 13. The sketch here given will probably to most readers appear exceedingly defective,⁷ and the only fair apology which can be offered, must be sought for by regarding the writer, or the subject-matter of his writings. With respect to the first of these two, he is fully aware of his own inadequacy to enter on the earlier part of the history of the English church, and confesses most readily that

¹ Turner, ii 22

² Ibid. ii 146.

³ Ibid 200.

⁴ Ibid. 148.

⁵ See § 23

⁶ Henry iii. 297, Spelman's *Gloss* 396.

⁷ A much more full one may be found in Henry's *History of England*, Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, or Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*.

all his acquaintance with it is derived from secondary sources. Should any one think that this portion of the work ought rather to have been omitted altogether, than to have been thus treated, the writer, while he perfectly agrees with the better informed reader, begs him to consider, that this book is intended for those who do not possess much knowledge of these subjects, and to remember, in his excuse, that few men are able to cope with antiquarian difficulties, and to enter on the discussion of subjects which are interesting in the present day. With regard to the subject-matter, it must be acknowledged that we possess little or no acquaintance with British history, and that the true history of our Saxon church is still, in great measure, a desideratum in the catalogue of English authors. No Roman Catholic writer can hope to satisfy a Protestant, when the real question is as to the introduction of those errors which the member of the church of England imputes to the other, and the requisites for forming an author suited to the task are so numerous, that we must wish, rather than hope, that such an individual may be found. The whole of the history of the British church has been exhausted by Stillingfleet in his *Origines Britannicæ*, and to any one who will examine that work, it will be apparent how little is known, and how unimportant that little is, that is, unimportant as far as the present state of the world is concerned. The man who is fully acquainted with the history of the Reformation may see more clearly what is taking place, or may happen, among Roman Catholic nations of our own days. He who has studied the events which occurred in the reign of Charles I. will be able to estimate more fully the present state of England and of those countries with which she is connected, but he who successfully wades through the whole church history of England, and its ecclesiastical affairs, to the middle of the thirteenth century, will find little more than a continued chain of contrivances, by which mankind have set aside the law of heaven through their own traditions, and substituted the commandments of men for those of God. There are indeed some bright exceptions, and the lesson to be learnt even from such perversions is an useful one, for this fault is by no means confined to the church of Rome; it exists in human nature, and the blame which properly attaches to the church of Rome is, that in the dark periods she fostered this evil propensity, and when knowledge had dispelled the mist, for the sake of upholding her own infallibility, she refused to reject those customs and tenets, which, however understood and received by the well informed part of society, can hardly be free from evil among the mass of the community.

§ 14. The aboriginal Briton may question the amount of the debt of gratitude which he owes to the church of Rome for his

conversion; the Englishman, who derives his blood from Saxon veins, will be ungrateful if he be not ready to confess the debt which Christian Europe owes to Rome, and to profess, that whenever she shall cast off those inventions of men, which now cause a separation between us, we shall gladly pay her such honours as are due to the country which was instrumental in bringing us within the pale of the universal church of Jesus Christ. In the mean season, it may be instructive to point out the probable periods at which each of these differences were introduced among the Saxons, and to give some short historical notice with regard to the origin of some of them, a subject which may be omitted by the general reader if he find it uninteresting.

The errors of the church of Rome generally originated from feelings in themselves innocent, if not laudable, but perverted by the admixture of human passions and inventions.

§ 15. To pray for the dead was the dictate of human nature, and the practice of the early church,¹ and no reasonable Christian will blame Dr. Johnson² for the cautious manner in which he mentions his mother in his prayers; but in the hands of the church of Rome this feeling was soon directed to the unscriptural object of delivering the souls of departed friends from purgatory, and the practice converted into a source of profit to the priesthood. The history of this doctrine of purgatory is as follows³—‘About the middle of the third century Origen among other Platonic conceits vented this. That the faithful (the apostles themselves not excepted) would, at the day of judgment, pass through a purgatorial fire,’ to endure a longer or a shorter time, according to their imperfections. ‘In this conceit, directly contrary to many express texts of Scripture,’ he was followed by some great men in the church,—and ‘St Augustin began to doubt whether this imagined purgation were not to be made in the interval between death and the resurrection, at least as to the souls of the more imperfect Christians. Towards the end of the fifth century Pope Gregory undertook to assert this problem;—four hundred years after Pope John the Eighteenth, or, as some say, the Nineteenth, instituted a holiday, wherein he required all men to pray for the souls in purgatory; at length the cabal at Florence, 1439, turned the dream into an article of faith.’ The doctrine of a purgatory, of some sort, has been entertained by Heathens, Mahometans, and Jews, but there is no necessary connection between praying for the dead, and the belief in purgatory⁴. The Greek church, for instance, prays for the dead, without admitting any idea of purgatory. Prayers and oblations for the dead were probably established in

¹ Bingham's *Ant.* vi. 671

³ Bull's *Serm* iii Works, i. 76

² Works, xii. 445.

⁴ Bingham, vi. 688.

England from the first,¹ and a short form of prayer to that effect is inserted in the canons of Cloveshoe (*), with regard to the latter doctrine, the Saxon homilists generally refer to the awards of final judgment,² though traditional notices exist, in which there appears to be at first an indistinct, but afterwards more clear reference to purgatory (b). Bede seems to have entertained an idea of the same sort and Alcuin, in common with many others, supposed that the general conflagration of the world would form a purgatorial fire, through which the souls which escaped unsinged would pass into the abodes of bliss.³ But later writers, and among the rest Alfied, adopted the popular notions of purgatory,⁴ which were still very different from the opinions on that subject, established as articles of faith, by the councils of Florence and Trent.⁵ Departed souls between death and their final judgment were divided into four distinct places: the perfect were conveyed to heaven, the less pure to paradise, the impure, who died in penitence, were consigned to purgatorial flames, and the impenitent to hell (c).

§ 16. With regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation, the opinions of the early fathers concerning it may be seen in Waterland,⁶ and his account of the history of this tenet is thus given in a note⁷ 'In the year 787, the second council of Nice began with a rash determination that the sacred symbols are not figures or images at all, but the very body and blood. About 831, Paschasius Radbertus carried it further, even to transubstantiation, or somewhat very like to it. The name of transubstantiation is supposed to have come in about A.D. 1100, first mentioned by Hildebertus Cenomanensis of that time (p. 689, edit Benedict.) A.D. 1215, the doctrine was made an article of faith by the Lateran council, under Innocent the Third.' How far this doctrine was admitted by the Anglo-Saxon church is discussed by Lingard,⁸ who shows that the canons, Bede and Egbert, use expressions which a member of the church of England would not use, but these probably a Protestant might have adopted, if the question had never been

(a) Lord, according to the greatness of thy mercy, grant rest to his soul, and for thine infinite pity vouchsafe to him the joys of eternal light with thy saints. Johnson's *Can.* 747, 37.

(b) There are also many places of punishment, Lingard, *Ang-Sax Church*, 255 (21), in which souls

suffer in proportion to their guilt, before the general judgment, and in which some are so far purified, as not to be hurt by the fire of the last day. See also Soames, *Bamp Lect.* p. 344, 10, 12.

(c) On all these questions see also Usher's *Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge*

¹ Johnson's *Can* pref. xix.

³ Soames, 325.

⁵ *Ibid.* 328.

⁷ *Ibid.* vii 182.

² Soames, 349, 16. 324

⁴ *Ibid.* 362

⁶ Works, viii. 235.

⁸ Note N. 492.

controverted Bede, however, introduces language which no one who believed the doctrine of transubstantiation¹ could have admitted, particularly the words of St Augustin, quoted in our twenty-ninth Article, and the testimonies of Rabanus Maurus, and Joannes Scotus Erigena, whose tenets were probably derived from the English school of theology, give us every reason for concluding that this doctrine never gained a footing in England before the Conquest. Lingard maintains that the language of Elfric^(a) is borrowed from Bertram^(b), to which a Roman Catholic would not object, but which Archbishop Parker deemed so favourable to the opinion entertained by Protestants, that he published it as conveying a meaning corresponding nearly with the doctrines of the church of England.

§ 17. Private or solitary mass^(c) was unknown in the early church,² and for the first nine hundred years there is no form of ordaining priests, to offer mass for the living and the dead,³ but Bede and Alcuin appear to have esteemed the sacrifice beneficial for the living,⁴ Bede even for the dead. The same opinion is expressed by Elfric in his sermon;⁵ and in the canons of Edgar, 960, the practice of saying mass, as an *opus operatum*,⁶ seems clearly to have been established^(d). As the custom of paying adoration to the host, and the denial of the cup to the laity^(e)

(a) Elfric says (Johnson's *Canons*, 957, § 37), 'Housel is Christ's body not corporally, but spiritually, not the body in which he suffered, but that body of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine for housel, one night before his passion, and said of the bread blessed, This is my body, and again of the wine blessed, This is my blood that is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins, &c.' See also a sermon of his printed by the order of Archbishop Parker, under the title of a *Testimony of Antiquity* (Fox's *Martyrs*, ii 380); reprinted in part.

(b) Bertram, or Ratram, was a monk of Corbey in France, about the middle of the ninth century; he wrote a tract *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, published in English, 3d. edit. Lond 1686, see § 313. b

(c) § 17. The word *missa*, or mass, was originally a general name for every part of the divine service. (Bingham, *Ant.* v 9, &c.) Its signi-

fication is the same as the word *missio*, and it was the form used in the Latin Church, 'Ite, missa est,' at the dismissal of the catechumens first, and then of the whole assembly afterwards. Baronius (sub anno 34, § 59) derives it from the Hebrew. It now denotes the consecrating the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and offering that as an expiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.

(d) It is there ordered, 'that the priest never celebrate mass alone (sect 35), without some one to make responses for him' (sect 37), 'That he never celebrate more than thrice in one day' sect. 40), or 'without eating the housel, or consecrated elements'.

(e) In Peckham's *Constitutions*, 1281, it is ordered that the laity (Johnson's *Can.* sect 1) be told that the wine which is given to them is not the sacrament, but mere wine, to be drunk for the more easy swallow-

¹ Soames. 399, 4. and 406, 5

² Ibid i 255

³ P. 29

² Bingham, vi 721

⁴ Lingard, 193, 348.

⁶ Johnson's *Can.* 960, § 35

did not begin till the twelfth century,¹ it would be unnecessary to search for the usage of the Anglo-Saxons with regard to these points

§ 18. No pictures or images were² allowed in Christian churches for the first three hundred years, and there is a positive decree against them in the council of Elvira, 305³ Pictures were introduced during the fourth century, but there were no representations of the Trinity, nor statues⁴ It is probable, however, that the worship of them began before 692, since at that time it was forbidden to exhibit⁵ the Saviour under the symbol of a lamb, or in any other form than the human When, in opposition to the council of Constantinople (754), at which 338 bishops were present, the second council of Nice (787) sanctioned the worship of images, councils held at Frankfort, Paris,⁶ and in Britain, agreed unanimously in condemning the decree,⁷ though it was received at Rome There is good reason to believe that image-worship did not prevail in England till the middle of the ninth century, but from the omission of the Second Commandment^(a) in the laws of Alfred,⁸ we may presume that it was established before that time, though

ing of the sacrament. In a MS called *Liber Regalis*, giving an account of the coronation of Richard II, A.D. 1378, in the keeping of the Dean of Westminster, there is a curious direction with reference to this point 'Osculo autem pacis a rege et regina accepto, descendentes rex et regina de solis suis et accedentes humiliter ad altare percipient corpus et sanguinem Domini de manu archiepiscopi vel episcopi missam celebrantis, corpore vero Domini a rege recepto, ministrabit ei vinum ad utendum (I presume the wine in question), post perceptionem sacramenti Abbas Westmonasteriensis, vel is qui vicem ejus pro tempore gerit, prout dictum est, de calice lapideo de regalibus,' &c. &c. This appears to have been an intermediate step in the progress of withdrawing the cup, the denial was canonically sanctioned at the council of Constance.

(a) As to the mode of dividing the Commandments, it appears that the Jews anciently divided them without any certain rule, for Philo and Josephus divide them somewhat differently, the former making the

Prologue (if I may use that word) to be the First Commandment, and running our First and Second into one, Josephus making the Prologue and the First to be the First, and both, in other respects, agreeing with our division (*Philo de Decalogo*. p. 751, ed. Paris Josephus *Antiq.* B. III. c. v.) But the division of the church of Rome (not the omission) is sanctioned by the Hebrew of the Masoretic text, where the tenth is divided It is sanctioned also by S. Augustin, who speaks as Bede does, of both divisions as occasionally used in his time (*Quæst. in Exod.* B. II. c. 71), and prefers this of three and seven to that of four and six.

The Anglo-Saxon church in the first ages borrowed almost all their theology from the Latin Fathers, and particularly S. Augustin and S. Gregory. It is no wonder therefore if they followed S. Augustin in his division of three and seven. Alcum, if he is correctly represented in the edition by Frobenius (vol. I. pp. 340, 341), speaks of the Decalogue under this division only. His Commentary is very like Bede's, and he quotes

¹ Bingham's *Ant.* vi. 813, 772.

⁴ Ibid. 257.

⁷ Johnson's *Can.* pref. 18.

² Ibid. III. 249.

⁵ Ibid. 260.

⁸ Ibid. 877, 48 a.

³ Ibid. 250.

⁶ Ibid. 257.

there does not appear to have been much zeal for it till after the Conquest. As the figures of the Virgin Mary ^(b) and the saints were among the first which were introduced, the history of the intercessional worship paid to them is probably closely connected with the former, and contemporaneous with it. In 678, Benedict imported a picture of the Virgin Mary from Rome, and the Saxon services for the dedication of churches imply a belief in a local superintendence of the Saint over those who applied to him, while, by the canons of Cealchythe, relics are ordered to be used in the consecration of places of worship ¹. The canons of Theodulf place

little more than the first words of the Commandments, but it would not be fair to infer that either he or Bede meant to leave out our Second Commandment.

The instances which Mr Soames gives of decided omissions, are all of the later period of the Saxon church, Alfred's Laws, Elfric, and others, and they are remarkable, as showing how ill agreed the different teachers were, after the introduction of image-worship, as to the best way of abridging the Decalogue. The modern consistent plan adopted in most Roman Catechisms was not established all at once.

It is of some consequence to show that an error of this kind, as well as others, came in gradually. The division which our Saxon ancestors adopted from Augustin was not so good as the older one (see this well argued in Jer Taylor, vol. xii pp 360-368 Heber's ed), and it was unfortunate, as it gave a facility to the omission. But it was not till after the synod of Nice, in A.D 787, that we have any proofs of an attempt to introduce the worship of images into England, and then it is stated on plain historical evidence that Alcuin and the bishops of the English church, A.D 792, condemned the worship (Soames' *Hist of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 119) Alfred's Laws, about a century later, are the earliest document from which we can at all collect that such idolatry had found any favour in England.

Alfred's version is as follows; it stands prefixed to his laws —

'I. The Lord was speaking these

words to Moyses, and thus sayth (248) I am the Lord thy God. I led thee out from Ægypt's land, and from their slavery. Love thou not other strange Gods over me.

'II. Utter thou not my name in vain for thou beest not guiltless with me, if thou in vain utterest my name.

'III. Mind that thou hallow the resting day. Work thou six days, and on the seventh rest you, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy slave, and thy maidservant, and thy working cattle, and the comel who is within thy doors for in six days Christ wrought the heavens and the earth, seas, and all creatures that in them are, and rested himself on the seventh day; and therefore the Lord hallowed it.

'IV. Honour thy father and thy mother whom the Lord gave thee, that thou be a long liver on the earth.

'V. Slay not thou.

'VI. Steal not thou.

'VII. Lie not thou secretly.

'VIII. Say not thou false witness against thy neighbour.

'IX. Desire thou not thy neighbour's inheritance with unright.

'X. Work thou not golden gods, or silveren'—*Exod xx 23*

These are also printed in Johnson's *Canons*, 877, and in Archbishop Parker's *Testimony of Antiquity*, in which last the order of the commandments against stealing and adultery is not transposed as it is here.

(b) For the history of the origin of the worship of the Virgin Mary, see Fr Paul's *History of the Council of Trent*, p 170.

¹ Johnson's *Can.* 816, 2.

the doctrine of the Saxon church of that time in the clearest light¹ The layman is there directed, that 'having worshipped his Creator only, let him call upon the saints, and pray that they would intercede for him to God, first to St. Mary, and afterwards to all God's saints.' (c)

§ 19. Closely connected with this subject is the religious veneration which was paid to relics. Respect for everything which has belonged to those whom we admire, is so consistent with right feeling, that from the very earliest period great regard and attention must naturally have been paid by Christians to the mortal remains of such persons as had gone before them in the Lord, but nothing resembling worship was used towards such relics² till after the time of St. Augustin. The line between religious veneration and worship is so nice, that from the earliest days perhaps, some individuals offended in this particular, and we find that our Saxon forefathers were early led to regard such remains with more than due reverence, through the attention which was paid to them by their first teachers. Gregory, among the presents which he sent to Augustin, soon after his arrival in England, transmitted certain relics. And in the eighth century, the number of persons who were anxious to pay their devotions³ near the bodies of the previous

(c) This doctrine of the church of Rome is, I believe, as much misunderstood by Protestants as perverted by Roman Catholics. Roman Catholics would assert that they prayed *before* the image, and not *to* it; and that they requested the prayer of the saint in heaven as St. Paul did that of the faithful on earth, but the Protestant, while he believes that to pay any religious respect to an image is a breach of the second commandment (*Exod* xx 4—6), even if it do not amount to idolatry, may feel convinced in his own mind that many uneducated persons are guilty of the actual sin in the worship which is paid to the brass image of St. Peter, in St. Peter's, Rome. Nor is it easy to comprehend how reference can be made to anything but the image, when a rivalry is supposed to exist between different images of the Virgin or of the same saint or how a college can be dedicated to St. Mary of Winton, unless some peculiar sanctity be attached to the image, which can alone possess a

local existence. God must judge of the question, but it is a heavy charge to have caused even one weak brother to offend. It may be remarked, too, that to request the intercession of the dead, is founded on no authority of Scripture, and contrary to the custom of the primitive church — Bingham's *Ant* v p. 75. The first form in which the adoration of saints (Soames, *Bamp Lect* 216, 5) was introduced into the Anglo-Saxon church seems to have been a prayer to God, that his servants on earth might be benefited by the intercession of his saints in heaven (*eg*), 'Da nobis Domine quæsumus, beati Stephani protomartyris intercessione adjuvari, ut qui pro suis exoravit lapidatoribus, pro suis intercedere dignetur veneratoribus, per Jes. Xt. D. N.' A trace of this is to be found in the subsequent form of 'Oret pro nobis,' but before the Conquest it had got to the equivocal 'Or,' and to the distinct (220) 'Ora,' and 'Orate,' in which the prayer was addressed to the saint (221).

¹ Johnson's *Can.* 994, 231.

² Bingham's *Ant* x. 113

³ Lingard, 262

archbishops of Canterbury, deposited in the church of St Peter and St Paul, induced Cuthbert, before 759, to direct that his own remains should be buried in the cathedral church. This question produced a vehement altercation between the monks, who claimed the body, and the clergy of the cathedral, who detained it.

§ 20. Under the same head must be ranked the abuse of pilgrimages, for while kept within the bounds of reason, and referred only to the effect upon the mind of the person visiting the scenes of Christian history, little objection can be raised against them. It appears that pilgrimages to Jerusalem had become common among the English in the fourth century, and, from the objections which St Jerom makes with regard to them,¹ that a superstitious value had been attached to such journeys undertaken with a religious view, but in after-times Rome became an object of easier approach and afforded more numerous attractions. Ethelwulf² went there in 855 with great magnificence and splendid presents, and in his journey was accompanied by his son Alfred, then a boy. It is not perhaps too much to presume, that the future greatness of this monarch was promoted by this early visit to a more polished state of society, nor need we refer the journeys of seven other British kings, who each sought the metropolis of Christian Europe, to mere blind superstition, or view their conduct in a very different light from that in which we should regard the coming to London of some heathen monarch, who had derived his knowledge of Christianity from an English missionary. The frequency, however, of these pilgrimages was a great evil. Boniface, in his letter to Cuthbert, 747,³ speaks of English women, who, having set out on a religious errand, had disgraced the character of pilgrims by their licentious conduct in almost every city in Europe. Pilgrimages are often ordered in the penitential canons,⁴ and in extreme cases the penance is imposed of a perpetual wandering from one place of religious resort to another, in which the penitent was never to remain two nights in the same residence.⁵

§ 21. With regard to confession and penance, the tenets of the churches of England and Rome differ in these respects. Both hold that without confession to God, and sincere repentance, there is no forgiveness of sins, but they differ as to the necessity of confessing to a priest, and of obtaining absolution from him. The church of England, in cases of gross sins, where the conscience is troubled, advises its members to confess their sins to a priest, and has enjoined a form of absolution. The church of Rome denies that there is any hope of pardon from God, except through confession, and the absolution of a priest. The Protestant minister is

¹ Usher, *Ant Brit* 109 p

² Johnson's *Can.* pref. 747

⁴ *Ibid.* 740, 963.

² Lingard, 159

⁵ *Ibid.* 263, § 64.

the adviser of his penitent, the Roman Catholic assumes too the character of his judge; and in this, the rule of our church corresponds with the practice of the primitive Christians during the first four centuries¹ The directions given in Theodulf's Capitula² resemble much more the custom of the church of England than that of Rome, enjoining confession to God, and recommending confession to a priest, on the ground of the advice to be received from him, nor would there remain any doubt of the agreement of the Anglo-Saxon church with that of England, were it not for the rules laid down among the directions given concerning discipline, in which the penance (a) is spoken of as a satisfaction for sin³ The penances generally imposed are fasting, wandering, laying aside arms and external pomp, a change of clothes,⁴ not allowing iron to come near the nails or hair. 'Much of the satisfaction of sin,' says the canon,⁵ 'may be redeemed by alms-deeds;' an observation which is followed by a long account of the commutation of penance, whereby a rich man may buy off the penances imposed on him by finding other persons who will join with him in his fasting; and thus lighten the severity of the discipline by dividing it among a greater number It should be observed, however, that this is strictly forbidden in 747,⁶ and Dunstan imposed, and Edgar submitted to, a seven years' penance, of not wearing his crown, as a punishment for deflouring a nun

§ 22. The question of the celibacy of the clergy is one which involves this difficulty, that it is not clear, even now, whether the church of Rome esteem it an apostolical tradition or an ecclesias-

(a) One difficulty with regard to this question between the Protestant and Roman Catholic arises from the word *penitentia*, which a Roman Catholic would translate 'penance,' in its secondary or theological sense, whereas the Greek is *μετάνοια*, or repentance 'Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,' by being translated through the Latin, is rendered 'Do penance, for the,' &c The fruit of repentance, for which a Protestant minister would look, is a proof of the sorrow of heart in the penitent, expressing itself in his outward conduct. A severe penance, voluntarily submitted to, may strongly testify such godly contrition, still he will never esteem this

a satisfaction for sin But wherever a regular system of penances is enjoined, it is difficult to understand how they can be enforced, unless the custom of auricular confession be at the same time established If, then, the Penitential of Theodore were in use in England, as probably it was, it seems fair also to conclude that confession was necessarily joined with it Those civil laws which confirm the penances imposed by the church prove nothing to the point (Johnson, 877, l. 925, 7), for in each case the offence is of such a nature as might be known without any private confession See, on the whole of this question, Soames, *Bamp Lect V* and the illustrations.

¹ Bingham's *Ant.* vi 871, vii 117, 130; Burton, ii. and iii cent. 338.

² Johnson, 994, 30

⁴ Ibid. 963, 64

⁵ Ibid. 67.

³ Ibid. 963, s 57, 58

⁶ Ibid 747, 27; 963, post 77.

tical law.¹ *i. e.* whether it cannot, or can, be dispensed with by the authority of the church. A Protestant would say, that no church can possess the right of depriving a priest of his orders in consequence of his marrying, because such a step would not be sanctioned by Scripture; but the laws of a Roman Catholic country must have the same authority to deprive him of his preferment, as the law of England has to say that a married priest shall not continue to hold his fellowship. The early practice of the Christian church was clearly in favour of the marriage of the clergy.² No vow of celibacy was required of them at their ordination for the first three centuries, and many were married. At the council of Nice, 325,³ it was in vain endeavoured to impose this restraint upon churchmen; but it seems to have been unusual for clergymen to marry after ordination.⁴ The custom of the Greek church⁵ was settled at the council of Trullo, 692, in which it was ordained that bishops only should separate themselves from their wives, while all other orders were allowed to dwell with them; and the church of Rome was rebuked for the contrary law. The answers of Gregory to Augustin imply that the regulations of the Roman church had been made in England⁶ from the very first (a). The Canons of Ecgbright, of Elfric, the Penitential Canons of Edgar, Theodulf's Capitula, the Canons of Eanham and the Laws of Canute, all imply that this was the law of the Church, and the only testimony which seems to favour the contrary side of the argument appears to be founded on a misinterpretation (b). But whatever might have been the law, the practice seems to have been diametrically opposite, at least after the Danish invasion, and the severity threatened in all the later canons proves the difficulty of enforcing this unscriptural regulation. The temper of mind generated by it is pretty clearly marked by other canons, which ordain

(a) The words in Johnson are loosely translated 'any of the inferior clergy,' *clerici extra sacros ordines constituti*. The orders in the Roman church are, ostiary, lector, exorcist, acolyth, subdeacon, deacon, priest (Johnson, 957, 10 — 17). Elfric allows of no distinction between a bishop and a priest, but the power of ordaining, confirming, consecrating churches, and taking care of God's rights. This, too, is the law of Ecgbright. The first four orders were not sacred,

and those in them might marry (740, 159).

(b) The thirty-fifth section of the laws of the Northumbrian priests ordains: 'If a priest dismiss one wife, and take another, let him be anathema' (950, 35). The probable meaning of which is, 'If a priest with a view to ordination has given up one wife and then taken another afterwards,' which is the very sin spoken of in the Canons of Eanham, and the Penitential Canons (1,009, 2, 963, 40).

¹ Jurieu's *Council of Trent*, 487

³ Bingham, ii. 155.

⁴ Ibid 156

² Bingham, ii. 152

⁵ Ibid 158

⁶ Johnson's *Can* 601, 1, 740, 15, 28, 31, 32, 159, 957, 1, 5, 7, 8; 963, 40, 944, 12, 1,009, 1, 2, 1, 017, 6

that no woman should approach the altar while mass was saying,¹ and that no woman, not even a mother, should live in the house with a priest,² lest the visits of other women should tempt him to sin. The struggle as to this point forms the chief feature in the later history of the Anglo-Saxon church, but the question is far too extensive to be fully discussed within our limits, though a brief outline of it may be useful.

§ 23 The earliest ecclesiastical establishments consisted of the bishop and his clerks, who lived together on a property common to them all, and managed by the bishop. These were governed by a rule or canon, and were called *canonici*, or *canons*. As the diffusion of Christianity into the district surrounding the cathedral church called for the erection of more places of worship, parish churches were gradually established, the services in which were supplied by some member of the general society, and when benefices, distinct also in their property, were founded, the secular clergy, under the direction of the bishop, rose by degrees into existence. But besides these, there was a class of persons, originally not, strictly speaking, ecclesiastics, but who after a time generally became so, living together under more strict regulation than the canons, and guided by some peculiar rule, in England generally that of St. Benedict. There can be little doubt, that in the earlier stages of society, monastic institutions were of very great utility. They formed an independent landlord, anxious for peace, and able and willing to introduce improvements. They contained and fostered the little learning which existed in the country. They encouraged the arts of architecture and its adjuncts^(*), and established manufactures; thus forming a middle class of men, whose combination might afford a salutary check to the power of the crown or the aristocracy. No persons suffered so much by the irruption of the Danes as the inhabitants of monasteries. They were possessed of wealth without any means of defending it, and their destruction became general. During these periods of confusion, the mass of the clergy appear to have become married, and when peace was re-established, the higher clergy, who were friendly to the Roman see, as Dunstan, and his colleagues Oswald and Ethelwold, proceeded with all activity to eject the married clergy, and re-establish the monks. For it should not be forgotten that it was justly argued at the council of Trent,³ that the principal reason why priests are forbidden to marry is,

(*) The illuminators of MSS in this country were, in the end of the tenth century, surpassed by none but

those of the Greek school *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv p 26

¹ Johnson's *Can* 960, 44.

² *Ibid* 994, 12

³ Fr Paul, 635

that it is plain that married priests will, through their affection to their wives and families, and the ties thus formed with their countries, lose that dependence on the apostolic see which constituted the strength of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

It may be observed, that the use of holy water¹ is enjoined, and the burning of lights² in churches, and that the service was performed in the Latin language. That priests are directed to preach every Sunday, and to explain the Lord's prayer, the Creed, and the Gospel, to the people.

§ 24. If then it be asked, whether the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon church corresponded more nearly to those of the church of Rome or of England, it will be impossible to return an answer without inquiring how far the tenets of the Roman Catholic of that period agreed with the decisions of the council of Trent, and in all probability it would be found that the difference between the doctrines of the church of Rome at different periods was much greater than that which existed between the Anglo-Saxon church and the church of Rome of the same date. The progress of error can never be very rapid, and the conclusions of the council of Trent must have required a growth of many years. Fancies are first converted into opinions by the authority of those who have entertained them, and interest adopts opinions which have been once admitted, to sanction unwarrantable demands. It was thus that a belief in purgatory was first received, and then became the origin of many ecclesiastical foundations, it was thus that the priesthood first persuaded men to believe in transubstantiation, and then converted it into a means of augmenting their own personal dignity, as conferring a distinctive pre-eminence on those to whom this power of working a perpetual miracle was committed. With this view of the subject, it is probable that we should find the church of Rome of that day nearer to the present doctrines of the church of England than the decrees of the council of Trent are. And as the Anglo-Saxon church was, from its situation and distance from Rome, not likely to receive every new invention as it was framed, we might expect that her tenets would be nearer our own, not only than those entertained by Rome now, but than those which were then maintained in Italy. And this is precisely the conclusion to which the previous examination has arrived, as far as it has gone.

§ 25. But if it be asked, how far these erroneous views had drawn our forefathers from the vital principle of Christianity, the question must require the greatest caution, even in one who was thoroughly versed in the subject; must be answered as a matter of

¹ Johnson's *Can.* 816, § 2, 960, § 43.

² *Ibid* 960, 42.

opinion rather than as a point of history; and ought only to be discussed, because the great use of history is to teach us, through the example of others, the dangers to which we are ourselves exposed. And first it may be premised, that it is not the abstract belief in erroneous doctrines which perverts the faith of the Christian, but the tendency which such errors have to undermine the essentials of our religion. He who believes in the existence of a purgatory may still seek for salvation, and an escape from every future punishment, through his Saviour's blood, it is only when he learns to confide in some other means of safety, that the idea of purgatory will practically destroy his faith in Christ. The Christian may believe in transubstantiation, and still receive the elements with humble reliance on the great sacrifice made once for all, but when he believes that the providing of masses can benefit his own soul, or that of others, he begins to lose sight of the atonement, and to seek for a new means of reconciliation. There is perhaps no reason why an individual holding wrong opinions of this sort may not trust in the same Rock on which our faith is built, but the tendency of such opinions is to lead those who entertain them from relying on God, who is the Giver, to relying on the means which God has appointed whereby we partake of his gifts.

§ 26. And this probably we shall find to have been the case among the Anglo-Saxons; for a very inadequate view of the atonement seems to pervade many of the documents of their faith which have come down to us. When the great features of Christianity are directly brought forward, they are perfectly correct; some of the prayers, for instance, given by Turner,¹ mark great piety and most correct views of the Trinity, the atonement, and sanctification. So in the homily on the Catholic faith it is said,² 'The holy Father created and made mankind through his Son, and he desires through the same to redeem us from hell punishment, when we were utterly undone,' but then the same homily adds, towards the end,³ 'Come then, let us *earn* that eternal life with God, through this belief, and through *good deservings*;' expressions which a believer in the eleventh Article would never have used. In another, the writer speaks of redeeming transgressions by almsgiving ⁴ upon the death of a bishop, alms are directed to be given out of his property, and his slaves to be set free, 'that by this means he may deserve to receive the fruit of retribution for his labours, and also forgiveness of sins'⁵ Alwyn, founder of Ramsay, desired the monks to pray for him,⁶ 'and to place their merits in

¹ iii. 490, 491⁴ Turner, iii. 476.² Soames, *Bampton Lect* 63⁵ Johnson's *Can* 816, 10³ *Ibid* 65⁶ Lingard, 251

balance against his defects,' and a monk prays for Edgar,¹ 'that his good deeds may overbalance his evil deeds, and shield his soul at the last day.' More examples of the same sort might be found, if the Penitential Canons were consulted; but these are quite sufficient to prove that the fruit of unorthodox doctrines had grown up with the admission of those opinions, and though we may bring forward the Anglo-Saxon church as not having admitted all the errors of Rome, yet, when we would defend ourselves from the attacks of our enemies, we must at once fall back upon the Bible, and profess ourselves ready to amend whatever part of our faith or practice does not correspond with the lively oracles of God. They possessed the Bible in their native language, yet they admitted the traditions of men, and were perverted so far as not to place their faith and confidence entirely in their Redeemer's blood. They buried their faith under a mass of unauthorised observances, and partially lost sight of that which is chiefly valuable in the Gospel. There were many errors which had not yet been introduced, but the way was fully prepared for their admission.

¹ Lingard, 278.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE CONQUEST, 1066, TO THE PREACHING
OF WICLIF, 1356

51 View to be taken of the Church history of this period 52. William I
53 Growth of the power of Rome. 54 William Rufus and Anselm
55 Henry, celibacy of the clergy 56 Stephen. 57 Henry II 58
Becket 59 Death and character of Becket 60 The first heretics
punished in England 61 Interference of Rome with England. 62
John 63 Deposed by the Pope 64 Henry III 65 Robert Great-
head, Bishop of Lincoln 66 Edward I 67. Growth of the Papal
power. 68 The contest was a temporal one. 69 The church taxes
itself 70 Strength and weakness of the Roman power.

§ 51. THE church history of this period can be viewed in no other light than as a continuous struggle between the ecclesiastical and civil power; and there will be little else to record than the methods by which the mitre triumphed over the crown, and the crown invaded the rights and property of the church

It will not perhaps be necessary to say much of the steps by which the erroneous doctrines of the church of Rome gradually overspread that of England, for the seeds of these innovations were abundantly sown before the Conquest, and the introduction of foreign ecclesiastics, connected closely with papal policy, would effectually tend to foster their growth. The history of the papal errors in England would not differ from that of the same errors in Italy, and we shall hereafter have to regard them as the causes of the Reformation.

In estimating the character of such events, or of the individuals engaged in them, we shall hardly arrive at a correct view of the subject, if we form our ideas on the standard of present opinions. If Anselm and Becket be regarded as champions in the cause of ecclesiastical prerogative, as advocating the privileges of the church against the arbitrary proceedings of the crown, we shall perhaps form a different judgment of their conduct from that which must result from viewing them as ministers of the Gospel. Their cause unfortunately was little connected with that of Christianity, yet their firmness, and the manner in which they conducted that cause, may excite our admiration of them as men.

§ 52. William the Conqueror, though he invaded England

under the sanction of a papal grant, nevertheless maintained the authority belonging to the crown, and proved that he was the head of ecclesiastical as well as civil power in his kingdom, by subjecting all church property to the services which were demanded from other lands. This had become absolutely necessary; for it is said, that according to Domesday book, seven-fifteenths of the kingdom were in the hands of spiritual persons, who had heretofore furnished scarcely anything for the support of the state. As a further proof of his supremacy, he forbade churchmen, unless they had previously obtained his permission, to leave the kingdom—to acknowledge any one as pope—to publish letters from Rome—to excommunicate any persons connected with himself—to hold councils, or make canons.

Most of the larger preferments were now transferred into the hands of Normans, who had accompanied the invasion, and much tyranny seems to have been used towards the chief members of the English church, many of whom were expelled from their benefices, or frightened into involuntary resignations. William ejected them by means of legates from Pope Alexander II, whose admission introduced an authority into the kingdom, of which he himself was little afraid, however dangerous it might prove to a successor: for he rejected the demands of homage made by Gregory VII., and would allow that Peter's pence should be sent to Rome on no other ground than as a benefaction. In separating, too, the ecclesiastical and civil courts, he made an alteration of which he did not foresee the extent, for this step greatly assisted the clergy in establishing their claim to a separate jurisdiction ^(*)

§ 53. William had little reason to dread the power of the Vatican, first, because that formidable authority was not yet fully established, but, secondly, because he made himself strong at

(*) In Saxon times, the sheriff or earl had properly the government of the county, but the bishop was always associated with him in judicial matters, and they together went a circuit twice a year, holding in every hundred a court called the Tourn. In ecclesiastical matters, the bishop sat as judge, and the sheriff assisted him by inflicting temporal punishments, when civil offences were tried, the sheriff was judge, and the bishop his coadjutor. This joint jurisdiction was now dissolved, for William ordained that no bishop or archdeacon should submit to the judgment of any secular

person a cause which related to the cure of souls, but that such cases should be brought before the bishop, at such places as he should appoint, and be there decided according to the canons and the episcopal law that those who refused to obey the summons of the bishop should be excommunicated, and the assistance of the king or the sheriff should be called in, and that no layman whatever should intrude into any matter which properly belonged to the bishop's court. Abridged from Reeve's *History of English Law*, pp. 6 and 64.

home, and confined his tyranny (*) to those whom he had conquered; whereas the injustice of his successors being directed against men who ought to have furnished them with support, rendered the interference of the pope a benefit to a portion of their subjects. For it must never be forgotten that the influence of Rome generally owed its origin and extent to the vices and oppressions of the kings, who were in their turn the victims of it. The property of the bishopric was a benefit to society. The church in those days formed a balance between the crown and aristocracy, of which the weight would, under ordinary circumstances, be generally thrown into the scale of peace, and on the side of the middle and lower orders. The election to the see was vested in the chapter or monastery, and the appointment of a bishop furnished the church, and all who held under it or were connected with its interests, with a person of such a station in society as might be able to defend their cause against the aggression of the military baron or his dependents. When therefore the crown appropriated to itself the temporalities of the bishopric, by keeping it void for a season, a vast number of persons were deprived of the advantages which they naturally looked for from their ecclesiastical superior. No ecclesiastical authority in England was adequate to cope with this evil, for the power of the crown was more than sufficient to oppress any individual bishop, but in times of difficulty, the discontent of a large body of the native subjects gave great strength to any foreign authority which advocated the cause of the sufferers. A patriotic churchman, with the full conviction of the evils arising from such oppression, exercised over the body to which he belonged, might fly to any tribunal which could furnish him with assistance, and most certainly the court of Rome would never have acquired that power which was afterwards so misused, if the commencement of its exercise had not been really useful to many persons labouring under oppression. William Rufus kept the see of Canterbury vacant above four years, and when, through compunction of conscience, arising from sickness, he had nominated Anselm to the primacy, the warm yet just remonstrances of the archbishop created at first an unpleasantness, and at last an open rupture, between himself and the king. Anselm properly exhorted him to fill up all vacant preferments, and admonished his sovereign, that though God had made him the protector

(*) There is one instance of tyranny with which the memory of William I is generally loaded, which it may be allowed an inhabitant of Hampshire to refute. He is ordinarily accused of depopulating a large tract of country for the purpose

of forming the New Forest. The soil, however, in this district is such that it could never have been much inhabited, and the act, however arbitrary, could not have produced any real distress.

of the church, he had not constituted him the proprietor of it (a)

§ 54. By a law of William I, every churchman was forbidden to leave the kingdom, or to acknowledge any one as pope without the permission of the king; and he had prevented Lanfranc and Thomas from going to Rome to receive the pall. Yet Anselm (1095) sought to do so while at variance with William II, and even consulted the bishops at the council of Rockingham whether his obedience to Urban, whom Rufus had not recognised as pope, were compatible with his obedience to the king, declaring at the same time the reluctance which he had felt towards accepting the station which he now held, and his determination to obey the successor of St. Peter.

William, with that folly which often marks the conduct of those who are determined to gratify their own wishes without regarding the consequences, agreed to acknowledge Urban as pope, provided he on his part would depose Anselm. A legate was accordingly sent from Rome, who, when he had been received and procured the acknowledgement of his master, confirmed Anselm in his see, as a dutiful son of the church. Considering the circumstances under which he was placed, we cannot wonder at the attachment of the primate to Rome; but at the moment it proved but of little benefit to him, for he was forced to avoid the immediate anger of his sovereign by flying into France, from whence he proceeded into Italy, and when the pope made an application for his return, William answered, that Anselm, in leaving the kingdom, had justly incurred those penalties under which he was suffering, and that the pope was wrong in advocating his cause. During his stay at Rome, he gained himself great credit at two councils which were held by Urban, in the last of which the canon against lay investitures was established (b)

(a) Before the Conquest, the temporalities during a vacancy had been placed in the hands of the diocesan or archbishop of the province. Under the Conqueror, they had been sequestered in the hands of churchmen, who were forced to account for the proceeds; but Rufus kept them in his own, or let them out to farm for his profit. At his death he was enjoying the income of one archbishopric, four bishoprics, and eleven abbeys. *Ling Hist* ii 134

(b) Investiture was a ceremony performed by giving a staff and ring to the bishop elect, which put him into possession of the spiritualities, as homage did of the temporalities

Gregory VII, who began to pave the way to that universal monarchy which in subsequent times the popes nearly obtained (A.D. 1074), forbade princes, under pain of excommunication, to make use of investiture, the object of which canon was to break off as much as possible all connection between ecclesiastics and the civil authorities. The importance of the ceremony consisted in the real power it gave with respect to the nomination, since it conferred on the party possessed of the right a sort of power of annulling the election. In the frequent instances which we have of disputed elections to the see of Canterbury, the monks

§ 55. The difficulties inseparable from the beginning of a reign founded on an unjust title, made Henry I. seek for popularity by the recall of Anselm; but one of the first acts of the archbishop was the refusal of homage founded on the beforenamed canon. The necessities of the king produced a truce, but the absurd demands of Pascal II. soon put an end to every appearance of peace, Henry declaring that no subject should remain in England who refused to do homage, while Anselm withdrew to his province and defied all earthly power. In a council held at Winchester, it was determined to refer the matter to the Pope, but the conduct of Pascal was so deceitful, that the accounts brought back by the envoys of the king and archbishop were at total variance with each other. Anselm himself soon after went to Rome at the request of Henry, when a decree of the papal chair seemed to put an end to all hopes of reconciliation. At length, however, Henry was induced, by the threat of excommunication, to submit to a compromise, and to give up the right of investiture, the church at the same time allowing its members to do homage for the temporalities.

In endeavouring to promote the liberty of ecclesiastical elections, Anselm might have been acting on sound principles, but the earnestness with which he insisted that the archbishop of York should acknowledge the superiority of the see of Canterbury was so closely connected with his own prerogative, that it suggests the idea that much of his conduct owed its origin to spiritual pride. As an advocate for the papal authority, he of course insisted on the celibacy of the clergy, which was one of the most powerful engines by which this foreign jurisdiction was supported. The repeated canons against the marriage of the clergy prove how difficult it was to enforce this restraint; and there is a letter sent from the Pope to Anselm, in 1107, allowing him to ordain and advance the sons of clergymen, 'because the greatest and best part of the priesthood in England consisted of such persons.'

claimed to themselves the sole choice, and the court of Rome supported them against the suffragan bishops of the diocese, who demanded a share in the election. But the crown also claimed its influence, which in the 12th article of the Constitutions of Clarendon is thus expressed. Having declared that vacant preferments shall be in the king's hands, it proceeds, 'Et cum ventum fuerit ad consulendum ecclesiam, debet Dominus rex mandare potiores personas ecclesie' (send his mandate to the chief persons of the church.

Johnson's *Canons*, 1164, 12), 'et in capella ipsius regis debet fieri electio, assensu ipsius regis et consilio personarum regni, quas ad hoc faciendum advocaverit' The person elect shall then do homage, &c. If this custom then had been established, and the king had possessed the power of investiture as well as right of homage, the real nomination would practically have been in his hands, and unfortunately many royal appointments were little better than sales of the preferments.

§ 56 The papal power continued to extend itself by making use of every advantage which the weakness and vices of our sovereigns afforded. Thus after the usurpation of Stephen, which was sanctioned by Rome, Albericus, bishop of Ostia, held a synod at Westminster, where he promulgated canons on the sole authority of the Pope, and interfered in the election of Theobald to the see of Canterbury. So again Stephen, by faithlessly seizing the persons of Roger, bishop of Sarum, and his nephew the bishop of Lincoln, at Oxford, paved the way to an act of unjustifiable audacity on the part of his own brother, the bishop of Winchester, who summoned him to answer for his conduct (A.D. 1139), and then arrogating to the clergy the right of appointing kings, declared in favour of Matilda and her son. The facility with which oaths and declarations were then made and broken, while perjury was almost sanctioned by the dispensations of Rome and her emissaries, is one of the many proofs which might be produced that the cause of the church was far from being that of God. (*) The papal power was the only one which was advanced by the miseries of England during this period. Her king was deprived of his patronage, and of the fidelity of his subjects, while the clergy were subjected to a foreign legate, celibacy was more strongly insisted on, and most of their causes were ultimately carried to Rome, by degrees, too, many abbeys were freed from episcopal jurisdiction, holding directly from the see of Rome, and forming ecclesiastical garrisons prepared for its defence.

§ 57 Henry II found the power of the church greatly augmented during the reign of Stephen, and though a wise prince, he contributed to extend that jurisdiction over the whole world which was arrogated by the court of Rome, when he accepted a grant of Ireland from the pope. Few monarchs, however, have more severely felt the ill effects of exalting the hierarchy, and that at the hands of a favourite, whose aid he had expected in repressing them.

Thomas Becket was born in London, educated at Oxford, Paris, and Bologna, and, by the influence of Theobald, was made chancellor of England (1158). Upon the death of that prelate he was appointed his successor in the see of Canterbury, though only in deacon's orders, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of many of the king's friends, who endeavoured to dissuade him from putting so much power into the hands of one who, with ambitious views, possessed talents which would render him formidable. The courtier, now converted into an ecclesiastic, assumed a severity of conduct corresponding with his station, and discarded that levity

(*) Fuller says, 'Dealing with oaths as seamen do with the points of the compass (iii. p. 25, § 29),

saying them forwards and backwards.'

for which he had been before conspicuous. The point on which the interests of the archbishop and the king first came into competition, regarded the punishment of ecclesiastical persons guilty of notorious crimes, of which unfortunately, at that time, there were too many examples.

This question was discussed in a council at Westminster (1163), and Becket and the other bishops agreed to observe the customs of the realm such as they existed in the time of Henry I, but added to the clause of 'saving their order,' a reservation which virtually maintained that no clerk, though degraded, should be subjected to the civil power for the same offence for which he had been deprived of his orders; and this upon the principle that a man shall not be twice punished for the same crime. When the Constitutions of Clarendon ^(a) were drawn up, Becket at first (1164), with much reluctance, promised to observe them, and to submit to whatever else was the law in the time of Henry I., but he subsequently obtained a dispensation from his oath. When he had attempted to leave the kingdom, and was driven back by contrary winds, a violent persecution was begun against him in a parliament held at Northampton. He had violated those laws which he had before sworn to observe, and was justly liable to punishment, but it was not of this that they accused him, he was sued under frivolous, if not false pretences, and at last ordered to give in an account of the moneys received by him while chancellor. The day after this unreasonable demand, he entered the hall in his pontificals, observed a dignified conduct towards his opponents, and when threatened by the Earl of Leicester, declared that all claims on him had been discharged when he was made archbishop, and appealed to God and the pope. The next night he set off in disguise, and retired to France.

§ 58 The reception of Becket at the French court was much more favourable than that which the ambassadors of the king of England experienced, and the same difference was observable at

(a) They were established at Clarendon, near Salisbury, and are in number sixteen (*Johnson's Canons*, 1164). Their object is to preserve the rights of the crown (2, 14) To prevent appeals from being made to any foreign court (4, 8) To restrain the carrying of causes into ecclesiastical courts (1, 15), and the exercise of an undue (5) or inquisitorial power (6) in those courts, while their just rights were preserved, by the aid of temporal authority (10, 13) To regulate ecclesiastical elections, so that the

appointment might not fall into the hands of the pope (12) To subject ecclesiastical property to civil service (11), and churchmen to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of law, so far that it might be known what cognizance was claimed by the ecclesiastical power, and how the offending parties were punished (3, 9) To screen persons connected with the king from the immediate influence of ecclesiastical censures (7), and to prevent the ordination of slaves, unless with the consent of their masters (16).

Sens, where the pontiff then resided. The Constitutions of Clarendon were immediately condemned by the pope, and the cause of Becket was taken up as his own. The violence of Henry now broke out in an unjustifiable persecution of the friends of the archbishop, whom he stripped of all their property, sending them over to their patron, with the view of increasing his misery by the sufferings of those connected with him. In this, as well as the former persecution, the passions of the king made him lose the advantage which his cause possessed, and he must have been regarded as a tyrant even while asserting his own legitimate rights.

Becket's anger would have inclined him to proceed immediately to the excommunication of Henry, but through the interference of the king of France, the thunders of the church were hurled against his ministers alone. Several attempts at reconciliation proved abortive, and in 1170, when the court of Rome seemed to be more favourable towards Henry, the rage of the primate became excessive. These circumstances, however, appear to have expedited the cause of peace, for terms were soon after agreed on. The meeting which took place at Fretville displays the gentlemanly feeling of the king, and the revengeful pride of Becket—he refused to forgive his opponents in any but general terms. and the intention of these salvos was soon apparent, for before he landed in England he excommunicated those bishops who had taken any leading part against him, and thus declared war at the moment when he should have been the messenger of peace.

§ 59 Some angry expressions which dropped from Henry when the excommunicated bishops came to implore his protection, produced the murder of the primate. The tide of opinion now ran against the supposed author of this horrid deed, but the king made his peace with Rome by solemnly disavowing any knowledge of or participation in the murder. St. Thomas became a most powerful advocate with Heaven, and the miracles performed at his shrine would be incredible, if the force of imagination, in curing the most inveterate disorders, had not been proved by the quackery of modern times. Henry himself paid honour to him when dead, and subjected his own person to great severities at his tomb. Louis too, with more consistency, visited his bones, and sought to obtain the heavenly aid of him whom he had protected on earth. Of the cleverness and decision of Becket's character there can be no doubt, but it seems equally unquestionable that his object was personal ambition—he died a martyr to the cause of the advancement of his own ecclesiastical power. The violence of his letters to the court of Rome, and the vindictive persecution of his enemies, show most forcibly how far he was from that serenity which the disinterestedness of a good cause can alone inspire.

§ 60 It was during this period (1160) that the first punishment for heresy took place in England. About thirty Germans, under a teacher named Gerhard, appeared in this country. They were examined before a synod at Oxford, burnt in the forehead, and turned out to perish in the fields. They made no proselytes, excepting one woman, and as the only accounts of their tenets which remains to us is derived from those who punished them, no fair judgment can be passed on the opinions which they entertained. They are said to have rejected the use of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, to have been adverse to marriage, and to have glomed in their sufferings¹

§ 61 The manner in which the court of Rome interfered with the concerns of this kingdom cannot be more strongly illustrated than by a quarrel which happened in 1186, when Archbishop Baldwin attempted to build a convent at Hackington near Canterbury. The monks of the metropolitan church saw that any other archiepiscopal establishment was likely to interfere with their right of electing to the see; and indeed the object in the erection of this religious house seems to have been to diminish their power. They appealed therefore to Rome, and the Pope insisted on the destruction of the intended establishment, which was accomplished in 1189, and so far did this jealousy extend, that when Hubert, in 1196, attempted to found a society of canons at Lambeth, and offered every safeguard which oaths could give, that they should not interfere with the election, the monks of Canterbury still resisted, and the see of Rome too well knew her own interest, not to advocate the cause of those who were always ready to fight her battles against any other authority.

In 1200, Innocent III. took the bold step of imposing a tax of one-fortieth on all ecclesiastical revenues, for the purpose of a crusade, to which it was never fully applied, says Diceto, unless the church of Rome has renounced her innate rapacity.

§ 62 It was, however, in the reign of John that the papal authority rose to its greatest height. The first act of encroachment was the appointment of Stephen Langton to the see of Canterbury. On the death of Hubert, the monks, to make sure of their privilege, hastily elected Reginald, and dismissed him secretly to Rome, to obtain his investiture; but, contrary to a promise which he had given them, he disclosed the news of his election in Flanders, and brought the anger of the king on those who had been instrumental to it. Upon this the monks, out of revenge, elected another primate, and the question was referred to Rome. The suffragan bishops of the diocese, too, sent in their claim; but this

¹ Collier's *Ecc Hist* i 347.

was immediately rejected, and the pope, having annulled both the elections of the monks, compelled such of their members as were then at Rome to proceed to a fresh election, absolving them from all the promises to the contrary which they had made in England. Stephen Langton, in whose favour these steps were taken, was by birth an Englishman, had received his education at Paris, and had subsequently been made a cardinal. The intemperate warmth of the British monarch was met by the haughty firmness of Innocent, who first laid the country under an interdict, and then excommunicated John. But so little real effect had these spiritual weapons, that the only two successful expeditions which John made, against Wales and Ireland, took place during this very period.

§ 63 In 1212 the pope proceeded to depose John, and to free his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and in 1213 committed the execution of this act to Philip of France. The secret cabals of his discontented barons, whose defection rendered all his prospects of defence uncertain, coupled with the threat of a foreign invasion, forced the pusillanimous John to surrender his kingdom; and on May 15, 1213, at Dover, Pandulf restored the crown, which was laid at his feet, a tribute of a thousand marks was imposed, and the legate having obtained the object of his church, forbade Philip to proceed in the invasion, and neglected the interest of even those English churchmen who had suffered in the cause. So much did the pope now consider England as his own, that when, in 1215, the barons compelled John to sign the charter, the pope espoused the cause of the king with such earnestness, that he suspended Langton for the part which he had taken in favour of liberty.

In this year the council of St John Lateran was held, which authoritatively declared transubstantiation to be a tenet of the church.

§ 64 The papal power had probably reached its greatest height by the surrender which John made of his crown, but its exactions and practical effects were by no means diminished under the weak reign of Henry III. A vast number of the benefices in England were filled by Italians, who resided out of the kingdom, and impoverished it by the sums which were thus withdrawn. But to what source could the oppressed inhabitants look for relief? They were little likely to obtain it from Rome itself, and the inadequacy of any such attempt they themselves experienced when the barons made a remonstrance to the council of Lyons (1245), for the pontiff amused them with delays, till their patience was exhausted, and their return to England was the next year followed by a further exaction of one-half of the revenues of the non-resident clergy, and a third of the rest. But this demand was too great to

be complied with, and the prudence of the court of Rome perceived the danger of pressing it.

§ 65. It was not, however, from the barons alone that the opposition to the court of Rome arose,¹ for Robert Grossteste, or Greathead (*), bishop of Lincoln, ventured to lift his feeble voice against corruptions which he justly designated as antichristian. Innocent IV. had named his nephew, Frederic de Lavania, then a child, to a canonry in the church of Lincoln; but the remonstrances of the bishop were so strong, that though they drew from the pope a torrent of abuse, he wisely gave way to the more prudent advice of some of his cardinals, and did not follow up the question. The good bishop died soon after, and on his death-bed endeavoured to convince his friend, John of St. Giles, that the pope was antichrist, and it should be remembered that he was one of the most learned men of his day.

§ 66. The chief points in which the English clergy had encroached on the civil power consisted in their growing wealth, and the freedom from temporal jurisdiction which they claimed. A partial remedy was provided first by a statute which passed in 1275, allowing a clerk to be tried by a jury before he was delivered over to his ordinary, and the Statute of Mortmain, 1279, made the king's consent necessary for any transfer of property to an ecclesiastical body, but when Edward I had established his power, he soon exerted it over the ecclesiastical portion of his subjects.

In 1292 he demanded one-half of the revenues of the church, in addition to many other exactions which he had already made, and frightened the clergy into submission. Robert Winchelsey, then archbishop of Canterbury, in hopes of putting a stop to these proceedings, which seem in truth to have been very tyrannical, obtained a bull from the pope, which prohibited princes from taxing church property, but the inefficacy of this was soon proved, for Edward excluded from the protection of the laws those ecclesiastics who refused obedience to his demands, and directed his civil officers to seize all the actual property of clergymen. This soon brought the question to a close, and obliged the churchmen to submit.

The ecclesiastical history which lies between this period and the

(*) See a life of Grossteste by Pegge, 4to. He was born 1175. In the early part of his life he resided in Oxford, and lectured there to the black friars. When elected bishop of Lincoln, 1235, he was much assisted by the friars in his episcopal duties, strongly enforced discipline,

and endeavoured to reform abuses, defended the rights of the church and kingdom against papal encroachments, though he always submitted to the authority of Rome; about 1252, he put forth a sermon at Lyons, inveighing bitterly against the corruptions of the court of Rome.

¹ Fox's *Mar* 1. 364.

first preaching of Wiclif is marked by little peculiarity, and the civil power, as might be expected, during the active reigns of the two Edwards, seems to have been gaining ground. But the immediate vices of the clergy, and the fundamental errors existing in the ecclesiastical system, which formed the real cause of the attacks of Wiclif, and which are indeed the only church history of this period, shall be detailed by way of preface to the account given of this great author of the Reformation. There are, however, some few general observations, which may be introduced with advantage into this part of our history.

§ 67. In tracing the extension of the papal dominion in this kingdom, much more must be attributed to the vices of the British kings than to any other cause. The comparative weakness of the popes before the conquest had prevented them from interfering so much with the affairs of Britain, but as Rome became strong, she advanced her claims, and established them, whenever her interests could be mixed up with the correction of the real grievances existing in church or state. The unjust usurpation of William I was sanctioned by the pope, and this same king introduced legates to execute his tyranny. but his injustice consisted in favouring the Norman clergy, and not in robbing the church as a body, and William Rufus might have kept himself as independent as his father, had not his invasion of church property compelled Anselm to fly to Rome for protection. The quarrel about investiture was really one as to the power which it gave the king of selling his preferments. Had not Henry so disposed of the benefices which became vacant, the interests of the clergy of England would have coincided with that of the king, his own avarice created the opposition which was raised against him, and in this vice he was so shameless, that when he had been invested with authority to restrain the marriage of the clergy, he used it by selling them licences which dispensed with the restraint. It was not till Stephen had most unjustly seized on the castles of Roger, bishop of Sarum, and his nephew's, that his own brother Henry, the papal legate, ventured to summon the king before an ecclesiastical tribunal, and Stephen, himself an usurper, appealed to the pope against his own bishops. John was incapable of contending with Rome, because he had first lost the confidence and love of his subjects. And the same thing occurred during the reigns of more powerful monarchs. Edward I imposed a tax of one-tenth on ecclesiastical property, through pope Nicholas IV, and afterwards exacted larger sums from the clergy, till they in their turn obtained a bull which forbade the transfer of any ecclesiastical revenues to lay purposes without the concurrence of the holy see.

§ 68 Most of the contests which took place concerned the property of the church, and might more justly be viewed as questions of civil right than as belonging to ecclesiastical matters. The church is a body corporate, with spiritual functions, but possessed of temporal rights; the injustice generally arose with regard to the temporalities, ordinarily with respect to the appointments; and as the ecclesiastical body had no other means of defending its own rights than by spiritual thunders, the invasion of a right purely temporal in its nature became a question of spiritual power, from the way in which the contest was carried on ^(a) The king kept a bishopric or abbey vacant, and let the temporalities out to farm. The church was injured by the want of a head, but the injustice was such as might have been remedied without any appeal to a foreign power, if the barons had maintained the rights of the church, but when the church found no other remedy, her members were forced to seek for aid from any source which could afford it to them, and so put themselves under the protection of Rome. And that see usually showed itself eager to support the weaker party, till the stronger submitted to acknowledge the authority of its decisions, but exhibited no objection to subject the church to the crown, provided the crown was subservient to Rome.

§ 69. So again with regard to the right of taxation, the church had always possessed the privilege of imposing taxes upon her members, but the necessities of Edward I. induced him to demand a contribution of one-fifth of their moveables from the clergy; and Winchelsey, then archbishop of Canterbury (1296), obtained a bull prohibiting princes to levy, and churchmen to pay, any taxes imposed without the permission of the Roman see. Edward reduced the clergy to submission by putting them out of the protection of the law, as they would contribute nothing to the support of the government, but his conduct was certainly very tyrannical. The papal bull claimed a power over the crown, to which there could be no just pretension, but such a claim could hardly deprive the clergy of the right of taxing themselves. The question was not whether or no they should pay taxes, but as to the authority which should impose such taxes. This proceeding of the king was an infringement of their civil rights, and had in its nature a tendency to weaken the dependence of the church on the crown, and to transfer the allegiance of the heart of the churchman from his king to the pope; and the frequency of political disturbances and

(a) See the Constitutions of Boniface, in Johnson's *Canons*, 1261, which, though they were never established as law, yet mark strongly

the violence and folly of those who then wished to legislate as friends of the church

personal insecurity induced the wealthy members of the church to prepare every means of defence within their power; so that if we regard the higher clergy in their manner of life, and their proceedings against the crown, they resembled laymen rather than ministers of the Gospel. There were many instances when they engaged personally in war, and their castles were often as strong, the retainers as numerous and warlike, as those of any temporal lord; and the history of the churchmen of this period can hardly be reckoned as belonging to ecclesiastical history, any further than as it records the temporal wealth and power with which they were then invested.

§ 70 In order to discover the source of that political influence which was possessed by Rome, we must look at the elements of which society was then composed. The king was the monarch of a military oligarchy, whose power mainly depended on the military strength which he possessed, and, therefore, chiefly on his own personal character, and the manner in which he used the resources of the crown. The church was a confederacy of corporations, sole and aggregate, whose very existence depended on opinion, and whose real strength consisted in combination, and in cultivating the arts of peace and civilization. Rome, possessed of many advantages in other respects, formed a centre of combination for the church, and the folly and injustice of the crown and of the barons would have rendered Rome and the church invincible, had not those vices, which are, humanly speaking, inseparable from power and wealth, destroyed the illusion of public opinion, and prevented churchmen from being able to trust in each other. The vices of monarchs and of nations first made the pope a king of kings, and the vices of Rome and her servants destroyed a power which no other human force could have subdued.

CHAPTER III.

FROM WICLIF, 1356, TO HENRY VIII, 1509

101 Men wish to remedy abuses when they affect themselves 102 Political abuses, separate jurisdiction of the clergy 103 Money drained out of the kingdom 104 Laws to restrain the papal power. 105 Moral abuses, the mendicant orders 106 Doctrinal abuses, pardons, transubstantiation 107 Little prospect of redress, inutility of canons 108 Wiclif a leader in the Reformation 109 His enmity to the friars 110 He defends the crown against the papal power 111 Attacked by the papal authority, but defended 112 Driven from Oxford 113 Summoned to Rome, but dies 114 His talents and opposition to Rome 115 Opinions of Wiclif, papal supremacy. 116 Church property, celibacy 117 Purgatory, episcopacy 118. Seven sacraments 119 Transubstantiation, on justification and sanctification 120 Wiclif's followers 121 Enactments of Henry IV in favour of persecution 122. William Sawtre, martyr 123 Lord Cobham 124 His execution 125 Pretended rebellion of Lord Cobham 126 Pecoek 127. His excuse for images and pilgrimages 128 Papal supremacy and monastic orders 129 The Bible, celibacy, fasting 130. Continued persecution 131 Summary of the history, origin of ecclesiastical power 132 Competitors for the nomination to preferments 133 Origin of the claim of each 134. Each seek their own advantage, in consequence of the wealth of the preferment. 135. Advantages and disadvantages of wealth to the church 136 Civil offices in the hands of churchmen, these evils were destroyed when they came to be examined 137 Many steps made towards reformation, but an Almighty hand was still wanting

§ 101. THE period which we are about to examine is often regarded with less attention perhaps than it deserves, since it must contain traces of those steps which eventually led to the Reformation. The opinions of a people like ourselves are not changed in a moment, or at the mere mandate of a court, parties must have been long nearly balanced, or the party weakest in political influence must really be the favourite of the nation, before a rapid transition can alter the religion of a country. The prejudices of the multitude generally coincide with whatever they have found established, till circumstances induce them to suppose that some pressure under which they are labouring may be removed. The discovery of an abuse by no means disposes the generality of mankind to seek a remedy, but they are easily excited to desire the reform of abuses which affect themselves, or when any other causes of suffering dispose them to wish for a change.

Before, therefore, we enter on the history of Wiclif and his

followers, it may be useful to devote a few pages to a short account of the abuses which existed in the church about this time. We will begin with those of a political nature.

§ 102 The general extension of the papal authority had so blinded the eyes of mankind, with regard to that species of anomaly in civil government which has since been designated under the name of *imperium in imperio*, that though there were frequent complaints of the pope's interfering too much with the affairs of this country, yet no one seems to have claimed that total exclusion of foreign jurisdiction, which is now generally admitted as necessary to constitute an independent kingdom. There were many attempts to limit the exclusive jurisdiction which the church exercised over its own members, and which was in reality subversive of the equitable administration of justice. If a priest were guilty of the most heinous offences, he could only be punished by ecclesiastical censures, and the commission of rape, murder, or robbery, was visited by confinement in a bishop's prison, in which the appearance of canonical severity was rendered ineffectual by the ease with which a dispensation from any canon might be obtained.

§ 103 These evils, however, did not affect the mass of the people, and though injurious to society, were confined within a compass comparatively small, while the quantity of money ^(a) taken out of the kingdom by means of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was felt by all, and could not fail to attract the notice of the most uninformed political economist. The great source of this abuse was the power exercised by the pope of granting preferments by means of provisions or expective graces, by which he appointed a successor¹ to any benefice, whether in his own gift or no, before it became vacant, and thus took the patronage of all countries into his hands. This opened a door to a variety of other abuses, hungry foreigners were introduced into the richest offices,² who, while they enjoyed their incomes abroad, thought little of the spiritual care of their flocks, or the temporal hardships to which the exactions of greedy stewards necessarily exposed them. At the same time an additional revenue was produced to the papal throne by means of bribery, and the exactment of annates or first-fruits, which were a tax of one year's income levied on preferments when they became vacant. It was originally paid on those benefices only which were in the gift of the pope; as therefore his patronage was extended, he enlarged at the same time this branch of his income, and the indefinite power thus exerted enabled him,

(a) In 1376, the sum paid to the pope was five times as much as that paid to the king. Cotton's *Abridgment*, 128, Lewis's *Wichlf*, 34

¹ Lewis's *Pecock*, 21

² Fox, *A. & M.* i 489 Lewis's *Wichlf*, 35

as circumstances arose, to advance his prerogative ^(b) The pope claimed to himself the right of taxing beneficed churchmen according to the value of their preferments, and the tallage amounted generally to a twentieth, sometimes to a tenth, or larger proportion. This method of raising money was introduced at the time of the crusades, but subsequently extended to other wais, in which the interests of the church of Rome were concerned This revenue was occasionally granted to the king, though ultimately appropriated to the pope The sum, too, collected as Peter's pence ^(c) was considerable, and the fees paid to the pope's officers for aiding suitors in their causes, or expediting ecclesiastical business with the church of Rome, tended to swell the total amount which was drained from the pockets of our ancestors, and rendered the minds of all men alive to every argument tending to show the unsoundness of a system of which they personally felt the galling effects. The officers who thus impoverished the kingdom were injurious in another point of view, they not only formed, as it were, a papal army within the country, but furnished information to Rome ¹ of everything which was transacted, thus providing that court with the means of continuing the slavery to which England was reduced ^(d). The prerogative of sanctuary ² had become exceedingly injurious to morality and the police, for the perpetrators of every species of crime, who could reach one of these places of refuge, were free from immediate danger, and reserved for the commission of fresh enormities, whenever their pursuers relaxed in their

^(b) The annates were by the reformers considered as bribes (see § 201, a), and it is probable that at first they very much resembled them It is uncertain when the custom originated, but their date seems earlier than that generally assigned, they were objected to as illegal and oppressive before 1250, and at the council of Vienne, 1315, proposals were made for their discontinuance, which were opposed by Clement V It is not extraordinary that uncertainty should prevail with respect to them, for they were an irregular demand, settled by the pope's chamber, and often exceeded two or three years' income Lewis's *Pecock*, p. 40 They were declared illegal by the council of Constance The pope did not obtain them for himself in England till after the reign of Edward I.

^(c) Peter's pence was an annual tribute of one penny paid at Rome out of every family, at the feast of St Peter It was granted by Ina (740), partly as alms, and partly in recompense for a house erected in Rome for English pilgrims. It was paid generally till the 25th of Henry VIII. Burn's *Eccl. Law*

^(d) It is perhaps worthy of remark, that as the popes, from Clement V., 1305, to Gregory XI., 1378 (Vaughan's *Wichffe*, i 281), were all Frenchmen, and resided at Avignon, as well as Clement VII and Benedict XIII to 1409, this wealth and power was thrown into the hands of a nation engaged in political rivalry with England, and that therefore the eyes of the people of this country must have been peculiarly open to this abuse during the life of Wichf.

¹ Lewis's *Wichf*, 35.

² *Ibid* 38.

exertions to bring them to punishment. Wealth, then, and authority, as well as almost every species of knowledge, were in the hands of those most interested in the continuance of abuses, so that all external influence seemed combined to perpetuate these evils

§ 104. There are, however, three laws, by which it was attempted to restrain the power of the church, passed not far from this period.

(A.D. 1279.) The Statute of Mortmain¹ tried to prevent bodies corporate from acquiring any lands or tenements, since the services and other profits due from them to the superior lord were thereby taken away, because escheats, &c., could never accrue, as the body never died. But this enactment was variously eluded, and the number of subsequent laws on the subject prove how inadequate human institutions are to counteract the interests of those who are possessed of power. Some persons may question the justice of such an enactment, some persons its wisdom; but the tendency which all bodies corporate have to accumulate property clearly points out the necessity of some species of restraint, though it appears very doubtful whether this be the wisest method of imposing it. Strict justice and sound policy seem always to go hand in hand, and as it is hard to prevent any individual who has acquired wealth from applying his property as he pleases, it would perhaps be wiser to allow bodies corporate to alienate, under certain restrictions, than to endeavour to prevent them from acquiring. The laws which obstruct the alienation and transfer of property are those which are most injurious in England.

(A.D. 1343) The statute against provisions forbade anyone, under the pain of forfeiture, to receive or execute any letters of provisions for preferments, but as this law practically carried all questions dependent on it before the tribunals of the court of Rome, to which the party aggrieved naturally applied for redress, it was enacted by the statute of *præmunire*(*), (A.D. 1352), that whoever drew out of the country a plea which belonged to the king's court² should be outlawed, after a warning of two months. Of the justice and wisdom of these laws there can be little doubt.

§ 105 Had the members of the establishment which was thus privileged, and for whose support these large sums were expended,

(*) The exact derivation of the word is uncertain. Some take it to proceed from the defence it gives the crown against the encroachments of foreign powers others from *præmonere*, which has been barbarously turned into *præmunire*, in which sense it is certainly some-

times used. The term *præmunire* is either taken for the writ, or the offence for which the writ is granted. It was twice renewed by Edward III. 27, 28, by Richard II. 12, 13, 16, Henry IV. 2. Abridged from Blount's *Law Dictionary*.

¹ Burn's *Justice*, Tomlin's *Law Dict*

² Edward III. 25.

been themselves irreproachable in their conduct, it would have obviated one great source of scandal, but so far was this from being the case, that during part of this time nothing could be more corrupt than the papal court;¹ while its emissaries in England did all they could to irritate those whom they pillaged. The pride and luxury of the higher ecclesiastics was excessive; they vied with temporal lords in all the vanities of life, and men who had forsworn the world were on their journeys often seen accompanied by four-score richly-mounted attendants. Celibacy, which was strictly imposed by the ordinances of the church, led the clergy into divers snares and temptations, and the canons against incontinency are so numerous, that their very number proves their inefficacy. Those who had the cure of souls not only neglected their duty with regard to preaching and instructing the common people, but most of the higher stations in the state were held by churchmen;² many filled menial offices in the establishments of their patrons; and their ignorance was frequently so excessive, that numbers of them were unacquainted with the Ten Commandments, and could hardly pronounce correctly the words for the performance of the sacraments. These causes gave rise to the mendicant orders, who infested the church chiefly in the thirteenth century. They pretended to an extraordinary call from God to reform the world and correct the faults of the secular clergy. To this end they put on a mighty show of zeal for the good of men's souls, and of contempt of the world, accused the secular clergy of famishing the souls of men, calling them *dumb dogs* and *cursed hirelings*, maintained that evangelical poverty became the ministers of the Gospel, that it was unlawful for them to possess anything, or to retain propriety in any worldly goods. As for the public orders of the church, they would not be tied to them, alleging that themselves being wholly spiritual could not be obliged to any carnal ordinances. They broke in everywhere upon the parochial clergy; usurped their office, in all populous and rich places, set up altars of their own; withdrew the people from communion with their parish priest, would scarce allow the hopes of salvation to any but their own disciples, whom they bewitched with great pretences of sanctity, and assiduity in preaching. These artifices had raised their reputation and interest so high in a few years, that they wanted very little to ruin the secular clergy, and therewith the church. But in less than an age the cheat of these impostors became manifest to all men. They procured to their societies incredible riches; built to themselves stately palaces, infinitely surpassed the viciousness of

¹ F Petrarchæ *Epist.* sine tit lib p 797 807.

² Vaughan, i 298

which they had themselves (perhaps unjustly) accused the secular clergy, and long before the Reformation became the most infamous and contemptible part of the church of Rome ^(a).

§ 106. Nor were the doctrines of this period less exceptionable than the political or private characters of the churchmen. Idolatry had become excessive, the people neglected the weightier matters of the law, and placed their hopes of acceptance with God on pilgrimages ¹, which were esteemed the more meritorious in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encountered on the way. Another method by which the beguiled multitude hoped to obtain for themselves the favour of Heaven consisted in their purchasing an absolution for their sins from the chief minister of the church, who claimed to himself the power of binding and loosing, without reference to the conduct of those who made themselves the objects of these papal remissions, not that the infallible head of the Christian community could act contrary to the ordinances of God, but that the Almighty would ratify his servant's decree, whatever might be its nature. The doctrine of transubstantiation must not here be omitted, which subsequently formed so ordinary a subject of persecution. It was asserted, that under the form of the bread and wine, the very same body of Christ was presented which had been born of Mary, and had suffered on the cross, and that the elements after consecration no longer retained their material substance; while it was added, that he who would not believe this would have disbelieved Christ to be the Son of God, had he seen him in the form of a crucified servant.

§ 107. These numerous abuses ^(a), much as they must have

^(a) Henry Wharton's *Defence of Pluralities*, 9, 10, A D 1692.

^(a) As an Abstract of the more offensive abuses (Fox, *Acts & Mon* 1 453) about this time, the *Complaint of the Ploughman* may be consulted, its author is not known. It begins with a brief account of the Old Testament history, and a statement of the doctrines of the New Testament, it complains that men have taken away the honour due to God, that auricular confession is not of divine institution, and leads to much evil. It objects to the spite, enmity, pride, and worldly-mindedness of the priests; their pharisaical prayers, singing and offering mass, instead of teaching, to their unmarried state, as the cause of much evil in the church; to their splendid buildings, images, &c., and not feeding the flock,

and to their preventing others who would do so, to their injustice, in not punishing the clergy as other persons, to their setting up the canon law and pope's decrees above the law of God, to their inquisitorial manner of taking evidence. He blames the pope's unwillingness to forgive, his commanding people to fight for him, and to swear even falsely, and to break God's commandments, he reprobates the sins of pride and covetousness; calls Christ the good Shepherd, the clergy evil ones, asserts that the pope is antichrist, and has no power over purgatory, declares marriage to be honourable to all, and compensations for whoredom in the clergy abominable, and ends with a prayer for deliverance from such teachers.

¹ Wordsworth, *E. B* 1 165

injured the commonalty, and offended those who from their situation were most capable of judging of their destructive tendency, seemed to admit of no remedy, since the interests of the parties concerned appeared to be so much at variance with each other. Whatever might be the wish of her conscientious members, the church of Rome was little likely to reform abuses productive of so many temporal advantages to herself. If anything were conceded to the remonstrances of the prince or people, it was as readily withdrawn when occasion admitted of its resumption. Severity in the canon law becomes nugatory, whenever the power of dispensing with it is lodged in the hands of the same body against whose irregularities it was framed, and that balance of mutual advantage, which mixed establishments enjoy, cannot exist in conjunction with such an anomaly; in fact, the profit of the dispensation seems sometimes to have been one object in framing particular canons ^(b).

§ 108 Against these abuses did Wiclif stand forward as the champion of Christianity ¹. We must not indeed esteem him to have been first in the glorious path, for in his writings he often refers to Greathead and Fitzralph ^(a), but he took so conspicuous a lead in the contest that he may well be deemed one of the grand-sires of the Reformation. His first work was against the covetousness of the court of Rome, it was published in 1356, and denominated 'The last Age of the Church' ². He was at this time about thirty-two years of age, and had rendered himself conspicuous in the university of Oxford by his learning, and the freedom of discussion in which he indulged. He had originally belonged to Queen's College, but was subsequently elected to a fellowship of Merton, which then enjoyed considerable celebrity as a college. The subject was well chosen, covetousness is a vice so open to observation, and so palpably contrary to the precepts of the Gospel, that though its existence proved nothing in reality

^(b) Clement V by way of favour to Archbishop Reynolds, 1313, gave him power to grant the following dispensations. To dispense with his own visitations, which might be performed by proxy, to absolve one hundred excommunicated persons, to grant one hundred days' absolution, for hearing him preach, to ordain one hundred bastards, to allow twelve minors to hold preferments, and forty priests to hold pluralities. The severity of a canon thus became a bank from which the

pope might draw. *Wilk. Cons* 11 433—444.

^(a) For Greathead, see § 65. a Richard Fitzralph was educated in Oxford, and afterwards became in succession archdeacon of Litchfield, commissary or chancellor of Oxford, and archbishop of Armagh; from whence he is often called Armachanus. About 1359 he maintained nine conclusions against the begging friars before Innocent VI; he died in banishment. *Fox's Acts & Mon* 1 464, &c.

¹ Lewis, *Life*.

² Lewis, *Wiclif*, 3.

against the doctrines of the church, the discussion prepared men's minds to doubt whether infallibility of belief belonged to a body which was obviously deficient in practice. Had the church of Rome herself undertaken the reformation of those abuses, which her sincere members must have deplored as strongly as the Protestant, it is far from impossible that our separation from her might never have taken place, but the providence of God, who ordains all things for the best, made the examination of her conduct the means of detecting the errors of her creed. In 1365, Wiclif¹ was appointed warden of Canterbury-hall, by Simon de Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, but was the next year expelled by Langham, who had succeeded to the archiepiscopal chair.

§ 109. This expulsion arose from the enmity of the ecclesiastics regular, who formed a part of that society, and who were favoured by the new archbishop. Wiclif indeed had long shown himself a great enemy² to the friars, who were then very numerous in and about Oxford, and who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the university by their endeavours to draw away the students from the colleges into their own establishments; and an additional stimulus was now given to this general dislike by the political circumstances of the kingdom, for though his immediate opponent was a monk and not a friar, yet as the resistance was against the court of Rome, to which both orders were equally allied, the animosity may be esteemed to have been common to both. In 1365, a demand was made by Urban V. of the arrears of the tribute conferred by John on the papacy, and which had not been paid for many years. The question had been referred by Edward to the parliament, but as the opinions of the hierarchy were different from those of the rest of the kingdom, the refusal which this demand had there met with was questioned by many ecclesiastics, and among the rest by some of the regular clergy resident in Oxford; and against one of these, Wiclif publicly advocated the cause of the king, and maintained the soundness of the answer returned by the parliament, viz, 'that as neither John nor any other king had power to dispose of his kingdom, without the consent of parliament, no subsequent monarch could be bound by any such transfer, in itself originally illegal.'³ Although his labours were not confined to the university, yet Oxford appears to have been the chief seat of his residence and exertions, where, in 1372, he professed divinity, *i.e.*, took his degree of D.D., giving lectures and holding disputations^(*); in these he

(*) Wiclif is frequently called professor of divinity, which arises, I believe, from a mistake concerning university customs. In theory, every D.D. is S.T.P. 'sanctæ the-

ologiæ professor,' and all the divinity exercises consist in teaching theology. At this time, doctors were really teachers.

¹ Lewis, *Wiclif*, 13.

² *Ibid.* 22, &c.

³ *Ibid.* App. No. 30, p. 349.

frequently inveighed against the errors of the church of Rome; and his diligence and zeal were crowned with ample success, for his audiences were most numerous, and his opinions received with marked approbation

§ 110. In 1374, Edward issued a commission to his bishops,¹ in order to ascertain what preferments were in the hands of foreigners; and, in consequence of their report, a meeting took place at Bruges, between the pope's nuncios and certain ambassadors from England, of whom Wiclif was one, this honour he probably obtained in consequence of his having before advocated the spiritual liberty of the kingdom. It was here after a time settled that the pope should not in future use provisions, nor the king present to benefices, by *Quare impedit* (*). On his return in 1376, Wiclif obtained the rectory of Lutterworth, and the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury. During the reign of Edward III. the payment of Peter's pence appears to have been discontinued, but when Richard II. came to the throne it was re-demanded; and the question, having been debated in the first parliament of that reign,² was referred to Wiclif, who maintained, that as an alms, or charitable donation, it might be lawful for the kingdom to suspend the payment which had been originally made as a free gift. For it was one of Wiclif's favourite maxims, on which he often reasoned in public, as well as exercised his pen, that the civil power, the original donor of ecclesiastical property, might, when the wealth so bestowed was uselessly or injuriously lavished, rescind its donation, and resume its rights. This doctrine, together with his opposition to the power of binding and loosing, rendered him obnoxious to the papal displeasure, while his continual strictures upon the infamous lives of ecclesiastical dignitaries exposed him to the personal hatred of many powerful churchmen

§ 111. In 1377, Gregory XI.³ issued several bulls, by which Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, and William Courtney, then bishop of London, were appointed papal commissioners to try Wiclif on certain points brought against him. A bull to the same effect had previously been sent to the university of Oxford, but his tenets had taken such deep root in that place, that it produced little effect.⁴ Before these commissioners he appeared in St. Paul's,

(*) *Quare impedit* is a writ that lies for him who has purchased an advowson, against him who disturbs him in the right of his advowson, by presenting a clerk thereto when the church is void. Blount's *Law Dic.* in voc. The king in this case

must have placed himself in the situation of one claiming the right of advowson, and have issued a corresponding writ, and by his superior power have enforced the admission of his clerk.

¹ Lewis, *Wiclif*, 33

² *Ibid* 55

³ *Ibid* 56.

⁴ *Ibid* 54.

but the presence of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and H. Percy, earl marshal, caused so great a tumult in the assembly that no proceedings were entered into, and a similar confusion, arising from the presence of the mob, together with a message from the queen-mother (Jane, daughter of Edmund earl of Kent), produced the same conclusion to a subsequent session held at Lambeth. About this time Wiclif sent in a declaration of his faith on certain points, contained in eighteen articles,¹ of which the substance will be given under the head of his opinions.

§ 112 (A D. 1378) The death of Gregory put an end to the commission, and no formal decree was issued against Wiclif, but his health suffered much from anxiety and fatigue; and during the next year he was nearly brought to the grave by a severe fever under which he laboured in Oxford². On this occasion his old enemies, the friars, in company with the aldermen of the city, paid him a visit, and, after professions of kindness, exhorted him to do them such justice as remained within the power of a dying man, for the many injuries which their society had experienced from him. Upon this, he ordered himself to be raised in his bed, and exclaimed aloud, 'I shall not die, but live, and declare the evil deeds of the friars!' On his recovery he continued to preach against the same opinions which he had before attacked, and began his translation of the Scriptures into English, and though this excited considerable opposition, yet his controverting the favourite doctrine of transubstantiation³ raised a much more formidable storm against him, which, in the following year, 1382, ended in his being forced to remove from Oxford to Lutterworth. The particulars of this persecution are reported in so contradictory a manner by different authors, that it is difficult to determine what portion of credit should be attached to each. It appears that his friend the duke of Lancaster,⁴ however he might approve of his arguments against the papal supremacy, was unwilling that any innovations should be made in the received opinion about the sacrament, so that Wiclif on this occasion must have stood alone.⁵ He is reported to have recanted all his heretical tenets, which were certainly condemned, and the students of the university forbidden to attend lectures where the objectionable doctrines about the sacraments were professed.

It is manifest, at the same time, that there was no great readiness on the part of the university to obey this archiepiscopal mandate, though Wiclif and some of his more immediate followers were ultimately silenced and expelled.

§ 113 Some of the errors which are imputed to him are so

¹ Lewis, *Wiclif*, 59.

² *Ibid.* 82

³ *Ibid.* 90

⁴ *Ibid.* 99.

⁵ Knyghton, x. *Scrip.* col. 2647

obviously absurd (^a), that he must have given his testimony against them as readily as his persecutors, while the recantations which are preserved are merely qualifications of his own opinions, and professed for the purpose of obviating false reports concerning his faith, and Mr Vaughan¹ has clearly shown that he had prepared his own mind for extremities, even at the time that he proceeded with all outward moderation.

This became now every day the more necessary, for the number of his followers was daily drawing the attention of the church, and the bishops were arming themselves with the civil power to repress innovations. In 1382² the statute was enacted which directed sheriffs to imprison itinerant preachers till they should justify themselves to the church, a law which would have afforded every facility to persecution, had not the complaint which Wiclif presented to the commons induced them to disclaim the authority of the enactment altogether (^b)³. His rest, however, in this world was of short continuance, he experienced a fit of the palsy before he got to Lutterworth, when cited by Urban to appear before him, he was obliged to plead his infirmity, and a return of his disease carried him off in 1384⁴. The disorder attacked him during the time of divine service in his parish, he fell down, and became speechless; and this circumstance has not failed to attract the notice of his enemies, who have recorded the event (^c).

§ 114. In estimating the value of the labours of Wiclif, we should not forget that he was distinguished in his own day, as much for his learning and eloquence as for his opposition to the court of Rome, and that his enemies, among the calumnies with which they have loaded his memory, confess that they could not help admiring the various talents which he possessed (^a). The

(^a) One of these is, Item, that God ought to obey the devil.—Lewis, 107, art. 7

(^b) It has been questioned whether it were ever enacted by parliament (Fox, i. 502), or only inserted in the rolls by Braibroke, bishop of London (Collier, i. 616); but it stands in the statute book, and is not repealed the next year. Burning was probably the punishment for heresy by common law. This law was to authorize the sheriff to detain the heretic and the statute, 2nd Hen IV c. 15, gave the bishop the power of sending to the sheriff an heretic who would not abjure, or who had relapsed, without any application to

the crown. It is probable that the actual burning was authorized long before this

(^c) *Os nempe quod contra Deum et sanctos ejus, sive sanctam ecclesiam, ingentia locutum fuerat, a loco suo miserabiliter distortum horrendum cernentibus spectaculum exhibebat. Lingua effecta muta confitendi vel testandi copiam denegabat, &c.*—Walsingham, *Hist. Ang* 312

(^a) In philosophia nulli reputabatur secundus, in scholasticis disciplinis incomparabilis. Hic maxime nitebatur aliorum ingenia subtilitate scientiæ et profunditate ingenii sui transcendere et ab opinionibus eorum

temporal question of the papal supremacy furnished him with ready hearers among the powerful in the nation, and opposition to the encroachments of the church of Rome enabled those who called its spiritual opinions in question to enter on a more impartial investigation. At the same time we must remember that the persecutors and adversaries of Wiclif were not induced to exert themselves merely for the sake of upholding the doctrines which gave so much offence, but that the political power which they possessed virtually depended on the submission which was paid to their decisions. He who controverted the one was of course ready to free himself from the other, and was punished when in their power as an enemy to the papal throne.

§ 115 It becomes our next business to consider the opinions which Wiclif entertained; and in so doing it will be desirable to follow the same division as has been already adopted with reference to the abuses in the church with regard to those which are obvious, it will be unnecessary to state his sentiments, customs which promoted the cause of vice and immorality were of course his aversion; and we will confine ourselves, therefore, to those points about which different ideas might conscientiously be entertained.

He denied entirely the supremacy of the pope,¹ maintaining the authority of the king and the civil power, and attacked the clergy for refusing to pay taxes unless authorized by the church of Rome, as if they were subject to a distinct jurisdiction only; thus proving his correct notion of the subjection of all orders to the political head of their country; while at the same time his answer about Peter's pence as strongly proves his firm conviction that the state was independent of any external power.

§ 116 He was a constant and vehement opponent to the begging friars,² reproving their vices and wealthy poverty; and so far in this particular did he go, that he has been stated to have denied to the church the right of possessing any temporal property; whereas his opinion seems to have been this, that, if the church did not use the wealth committed to her care discreetly and to the purposes for which it was given, the laity, as original donors, might resume their grants; nay, that it became the duty of temporal lords to deprive the clergy of possessions which were not rightly applied (*).

variare — Potens erat et validus in disputationibus super cæteros, et in argumentis nulli credebatur secundus — Henricus de Knyghton, 2664. Lewis, xxiii

(*) Lewis, 387, art. 16. 'Licet regibus in casibus limitatis a jure, auferre temporalia a viris ecclesiasticis, ipsis habitualiter abutentibus,'

see also pp 66, 73, 145 Vaughan's *Wic* ii 4. This question is frequently confused, because the limitations are neglected. Civil society is established for the preservation of property when, therefore, any regulations with regard to property

¹ Lewis's *Wiclif*, 153, 154.

² *Ibid* 22, &c

He did not approve of the constrained celibacy of the clergy, by which they fell into divers temptations and sins, especially when, by the influence of parents, their vows were made at an early period of life, while the parties so promising were not aware of their own weakness, and were subsequently renewed, through fear of poverty, or of disobliging their superiors. 'For marriage,' says he, 'is expressly allowed to priests under the old covenant, and not forbidden under the new.'¹ thus grounding his ideas on the word of God alone, which he seems to have admitted as the only ultimate standard.²

§ 117. His doctrines, therefore, founded on the same principle, correspond in most points with those of our church, though in some very material particulars he manifestly differs from us.

He admitted, for instance, the belief in purgatory, and seems to have esteemed the praying for souls in it to be useful, though sometimes accompanied with such errors as made it less desirable³

He rejected episcopacy (*) as a distinct order in the church, affirming that in the apostles time the two orders of priests and deacons were sufficient, and that the numerous distinctions which existed were the inventions of men, and served but to augment their worldly pride.⁴

really interfere with the preservation of it, the body politic must have the right of changing the tenure. The right is the same, whether lodged in a body corporate, as the church, or an individual landholder, but the regulations which pertain to the possessions of such a body as the church, are much more likely to require modifications than those which refer to the property of an individual. The laity have a joint interest in the property of the church, having as much right to the spiritual services of churchmen, as the churchmen have to the temporalities of their preferments. And a wise government while it provides that the claims of all parties shall be satisfied, will interfere as little as possible with regard to the tenure itself. Yet cases may occur in which it may become necessary to legislate for both.

(*) See § 460, b. Great confusion is apt to arise as to the distinction between the different orders in the

church, and the difference of ecclesiastical rank in the same or different orders. In the church of England there are three orders, bishops, priests, and deacons. In the church of Scotland there are only two, priests and deacons. In the church of Rome, with which we agree as to episcopacy, there are four degrees of bishops—the pope, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, all of whom are bishops. The church of England admits of only the two latter of these. Deans, archdeacons, chancellors, &c., are all priests holding different offices. The moderator of the church of Scotland is a priest holding an office. The deacon is common to all. In the church of Rome there are, besides these, subdeacons, and four other inferior orders, acolyth, exorcist, lector, ostiary. A cardinal is a member of the body corporate of the college of cardinals. He may be a bishop, priest, or deacon.

¹ Lewis's *Wiclif*, 163

³ *Ibid.* 161

² *Ibid.* 380, 18

⁴ *Ibid.* 155.

§ 118. These two points have been mentioned as those alone in which he differed very materially from the church of England; for though he upheld the seven sacraments^(*), he did so in such a sense as to render the dispute about them almost a matter of words. He esteemed baptism¹ as absolutely necessary, but presumed not to say that a child dying without it might not be saved, in cases of necessity he seems to have allowed that the rite might be performed by a lay person. The views which he entertained with regard to the hierarchy rendered it impossible that confirmation² should be essentially or necessarily confined to the bishops, and he considered many of the ceremonies then used as nugatory and useless. He thought that absolution was of no use, unless the penitent were contrite in the sight of God and pardoned by Him. He rejected the efficacy of indulgences, and ironically declared that the pope was very uncharitable, if he allowed one soul to remain in purgatory when he might so easily deliver them.³ Though he admitted the utility of confession⁴ to a godly and discreet priest, yet he argued very strongly against the absolute necessity⁵ of it, and affirmed that it was never enjoined as a sacrament till the time of Innocent III. (about 1200). He conceived that matrimony⁶ and extreme unction⁷ were sacraments in a certain sense; but in the former he overlooked the restrictions of the Levitical Law with reference to affinity,⁸ as not binding on Christians. He objected to prayers addressed to saints,⁹ to pilgrimages¹⁰ and images,¹¹ which he allowed of only as books for the unlearned.

§ 119. But the great offence for which, as we have seen, he was visited with considerable persecution in his latter days, was the opposition which he showed to the received doctrine of transubstantiation. In this he asserted that the elements did after consecration continue to possess their original natures of bread and wine; and the decree with which this delivery of his opinion was followed in Oxford,¹² is probably the first formal determination of the church of England in the case, 'so that this opinion of transubstantiation, which brought so many to the stake, had not with us a 140 years' prescription before Martin Luther.'¹³

In consequence of an expression used by Melancthon,¹⁴ an idea

(*) The five commonly called sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance. Orders, Matrimony, Extreme Unction, xxv art

¹ Lewis's *Wyclif*, 165

⁴ *Ibid* 171.

⁷ *Ibid*. 379, 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid* 176.

¹³ Wordsworth's *E. B.* 1 49, 1, Sir R. Twissden's *Hist. Vind.* 193, 4

¹⁴ Lewis, 140.

² *Ibid* 167.

⁵ *Dialog* iv ch 23, p 139

⁸ *Ibid*. 173.

¹¹ *Ibid* 175. ¹² *Ibid*. 319; Wilk. *Cons* iii 170

³ *Ibid*. 170

⁶ *Ibid*. 171.

⁹ *Ibid*.

has prevailed that Wiclif was unsound¹ as to his belief in the doctrines of justification by faith, and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, the very fundamentals of Christianity. And this notion has been introduced into the Church History of Mr. Milner. But the continuance of this mistake itself partly arises from the ignorance with regard to the doctrines of the church of Rome, which is so common among Protestants. That church has overlaid these fundamentals with various superstitions, among which the simple may easily be bewildered; but the humble Roman Catholic will tell his Protestant friend, that he has no hopes but in the mercy of God through Christ Jesus, and the assistance of the Holy Ghost, although he may occasionally expect to be made partaker of these blessings by means not derived through the Holy Scriptures, and to which the Protestant would object. Wiclif, however, is most distinct in his declarations with regard to both these doctrines. He directs his hearers to look up to Christ and be saved,² and to seek the aid of the Holy Spirit, to raise up even good thoughts in their hearts (^a).

§ 120 The opposition which had been raised against Wiclif was calculated rather to give notoriety to his doctrines, than to silence those who advocated the cause of reformation, and the effect of his preaching was so widely spread, that Knyghton affirms that above one-half of the people of England were Lollards (^a); a declaration which must be received under limitations, as the term might be applied to anyone who did not assent to all the decisions of the Roman Catholic clergy; and it is probable that the inhabitants of this country had so far attended to the arguments of the reformer, as to begin to exercise their own thoughts on religious subjects. Many of the ecclesiastical followers of Wiclif refused to accept of benefices,³ on account of the unscriptural compliances to their patrons which the acceptance of such preferments entailed upon them, and travelled through the country diffusing the doctrines of Christianity. They were known under the name of *poor priests*, and preached in markets and other places where they could

(^a) There is an abstract of the opinions of Wiclif in Allix's *History of the Albigenses*, p. 252, ch. xxiv, and a much longer one in Vaughan, ii ch. viii, besides that in Lewis, ch. viii.

(^a) The name is probably not derived from Walter Lolhart, nor from Lolium, Cockle, but from a German word *lullen* (to sing with a low voice), and the well-known termination *hard* (we say in English to

lull asleep). As therefore a beghard is one who prays, so a Lollard is one who frequently praises God with a song. Lay-brethren, among the monks, were formerly called Lollard-brethren; and the terms *beghard* and *lollard* are frequently used indiscriminately. See Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 355 (n). The modern word 'canting' may illustrate the same idea.

¹ Vaughan, ii. 359

² Ibid. ii. 356, 7

³ Ibid. 196.

attract the largest audiences. Their exertions were often supposed to create a licentious freedom among the commonalty, which was probably, in some measure, the case, as there is a much closer connection between civil and religious liberty than is generally supposed, nor is it to be questioned that many of those who received the spiritual tenets of Wyclif,¹ and who possessed considerable power, were ready to defend him with the arm of flesh. The university of Oxford became so tinged with his opinions, that, in 1396, it was subjected to the visitation of Archbishop Arundel, notwithstanding the opposition shown to the admission of any external jurisdiction. Upon this occasion the commissioners selected 298 conclusions (^b), which were declared erroneous and deserving of censure, and transmitted them to the convocation then assembled in St Paul's; but these coercive measures seem not to have produced much effect, or to have eradicated the regard justly borne to Wyclif by those who had imbibed his sentiments; for letters testimonial of his general good character, and propriety of behaviour, were subsequently given, and sealed with the university seal in 1406 (^c).

§ 121. The storm of persecution which Wiclif had escaped by death, and which some of his followers avoided by recantations, still continued to lower, though its violence was not felt till the next reign. In 1388,² an inquisitorial commission was issued, enjoining strict search to be made after those who held heretical opinions, but the exertions of the Lollards do not appear to have abated, or to have been confined to preaching, and the gradual dissemination of their tenets; for, beginning to feel their own strength in the country, they not only satirized the clergy (A.D. 1395), but presented a petition to the parliament,³ in which many very severe animadversions were passed on evils existing in the church. The circumstances under which Henry IV came to the throne rendered it necessary for him to strengthen his interests with every species of ally, and there was no method by which the support of the church could be gained so easily as by assisting the bishops in their severities against the Lollards, to which cause we may probably trace the enactment of the statute against them.⁴

(^b) The works of Wiclif, from which these were taken, are very numerous, amounting, tracts and all, to nearly 300. Lewis gives a catalogue of them, with observations, in ch ix. p 179, a list of them may be found also in Vaughan.

(^c) The authenticity of these letters

has been doubted, the question is fairly discussed, and the document given in Lewis, 228, and *App.* No 28, p 343, see also Collier's *Eccl Hist* 624, 1. The opinions of Wiclif were condemned in convocation, in 1410. Collier, 629, &c

¹ Lewis, 220.

³ Lewis, *App.* No. 27, 337.

² Collier, i. 590.

⁴ See § 113, b

(A.D. 1400) This law, after forbidding all unlicensed preaching,¹ authorizes the bishop to arrest, and detain in prison, anyone suspected of preaching or spreading unsound doctrines, with regard to the sacraments or the authority of the church, till they shall proceed to their purgation, or abjure their errors; in default of which he is allowed to hand them over immediately to the secular power, which shall forthwith 'do them to be burnt.' If what has been before said be correct, this act merely took away from the crown the power of refusing the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, which it had previously exercised, and thus gave the church the full privilege of inflicting death on those who differed from her, or who refused to pay submission to the supremacy which she claimed.

§ 122 William Sawtrey,² a London clergyman, was the first among the followers of Wiclif who suffered martyrdom, he was brought to the stake by Archbishop Arundel, because he refused to worship the cross, and denied that the bread in the sacrament was transubstantiated.

There is an almost uninterrupted succession of martyrs and confessors from this time to the period of the Reformation, excepting when the ineffectual struggles of the English in France, or domestic convulsions, produced a feverish tranquillity to the professors of the true faith. In the examination of these persons, of which several remain to us in their original forms, written when they took place, or soon after, a considerable similarity prevails. The questions on which condemnation was pronounced, though they vary, ordinarily turn upon transubstantiation, or submission to the authority of the church.

§ 123 The most illustrious of these sufferers whose private virtues as well as public character rendered his punishment a great object with the upholders of the papacy, was Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.³ he had acquired his rank by marrying the daughter and heiress of that nobleman, and seems to have shown himself, at all times, a firm opponent to the usurpations and power of Rome. When the ill conduct of Richard II. had paved the way to the throne for Henry IV, Lord Cobham early joined a standard which was at first ostensibly unfurled in the cause of justice. Henry rewarded his services with his confidence, and, in 1407, he was appointed to a command in an army destined for France, which, in conjunction with the Duke of Burgundy, raised the siege of Paris.

Immediately after the coronation of Henry V., Archbishop

¹ Collier, i. 614.

² Fox's *A and M.* i. 586.

³ Gulpin's *Lives of the Reformers*, Lond. 1819, *Christian Knowledge* edit.

Arundel prepared to exterminate heresy, which was every day becoming more prevalent throughout the kingdom; and Lord Cobham was universally marked out as its upholder, as not only countenancing it in his own person, by entertaining unsound opinions on fundamental doctrines,¹ but by sending preachers into the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford. When application was made to Henry, to allow of the persecution of this nobleman, he desired that the process might be delayed till he had himself laboured at his conversion; but the firmness of Lord Cobham so exasperated the monarch, that he delivered him over to the ecclesiastical tribunal.

§ 124. Of this trial we have a particular account written by John Bale (^a), afterwards Bishop of Ossory, and first published in 1544. The points of examination coincide very much with those of William Thorpe,² in 1407, of which, too, we have a history, probably written by himself, and it is impossible not to admire the Christian spirit of the author exhibited in this work, so little imitated by Bale, who is far too acrimonious against the errors which he combats. They were both required to give their opinions concerning confession to a priest, the use of images, pilgrimages, and oaths; but transubstantiation was the great rock of offence, and submission to holy church the touchstone of their sincerity.³ The answers in both these cases differ so little from the opinions of Wiclif, that it is hardly necessary to state them at length, upon their refusal to abide by the decisions of the church, both were remanded to prison. It is not known⁴ what ultimately became of Thorpe, but he probably died in confinement. Lord Cobham made his escape from the Tower, and fled into Wales,⁵ where he remained concealed four years, during his confinement, a pretended recantation was published, in which it was declared that he submitted to the authority of the church, but his friends, who informed him of this proceeding, affixed in many conspicuous places a letter addressed to them for this purpose, in which he expresses his continuance in the same opinions which he had maintained before his judges. He was at length discovered, and sent back by Lord Powis, and on his arrival in London was burnt in St Giles's Fields,⁶ hanging on a gallows, to which he was fastened by chains.

(^a) A Brefe Chronycle concerninge the Examynacyon and Death of the Blessed Martyr of Christ, Syr Johan

Oldecastell, the Lorde Cobham. By Johan Bale. Printed, 1544, Re-printed, 1729.

¹ Bale, 22.

² Wordsworth's *Ecc. Biog.* 111, vol. 1. from Fox 1. 602.

³ Bale, 71. Wordsworth, 203.

⁴ Wordsworth, 211.

⁵ Gulpm, 80.

⁶ Bale, 96.

§ 125 This spot was chosen for his execution on account of an affair which had taken place there about Christmas, 1413, immediately after his escape from the Tower. Henry V was at Eltham¹ when news was brought him at supper that a body of Lollards were assembled, to the number of twenty thousand, in St. Giles's Fields, under the command of Lord Cobham. Following the dictates of his own courage, the king collected such forces as his household would supply, and hastened to disperse the rioters, whom he easily overthrew, and took many prisoners, most of whom were afterwards executed, by being hanged and burnt; and a statute was soon after made, in a parliament held at Leicester, granting every aid from the temporal arm to the persecutors of Lollardy. This tale is so variously represented that it is difficult to arrive at the truth. That an assembly of Lollards took place seems unquestionable, but there is no probability that it was very numerous, or headed by Lord Cobham, or that its objects were such as are attributed to it; and the evident tendency which such a story must have had to inflame the mind of the king against these unfortunate men furnishes us with a sufficient reason why this colouring should have been given to the circumstances, while the admission of the correctness of the tale involves an inconsistency and folly in the sufferers, for which no adequate cause can be assigned.

§ 126. Another promoter of the Reformation,² who, though not a martyr, was a confessor in its cause, was Reginald Pecock. By tranquil opposition to the more zealous followers of Wiclif, and by grounding his arguments on sound reason in the interpretation of the word of God, he contributed much to the furtherance of the Reformation. He was born about 1390, became fellow of Oriel, Oxford, 1417, about 1425, he left the university, and went to court, under the protection of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and in 1444 became bishop of St. Asaph, which preferment he probably obtained through bribery^(a), by means of a papal provision, for he defends such a method of becoming possessed of a benefice, on the plea that all ecclesiastical property belonging originally to the head of the church,³ the pope may at his option resume any part of it for his own use. In 1449 he published his 'Repressor of over-

(a) This bribery might have been nothing but the payment of annates or first-fruits, see § 103, b. A conscientious man, who admitted the pope's right of patronage, might as safely pay his first-fruits to him, as we do to the crown; and yet a zealous reformer would call this

simony. The question would really turn on the influence which such payment had in procuring the grant of the benefice, and, in order to judge of the question correctly, we must go back to the individual case of Pecock, of which we know nothing.

¹ Gilpin, 81, &c.

² Lewis, *Life of Pecock*.

³ Ibid 42.

much blaming the Clergy,¹ and the year afterwards was translated to Chichester, where he published his treatise on Faith His moderation, and the low authority which he allowed to the church, together with some expressions against the French war, which might be unpleasant to the court, seem to have raised him up enemies among all orders in the state. In 1457 he was expelled from the House of Lords,² and the next year deprived of his bishopric, though he abjured his errors at Lambeth and Paul's Cross. He subsequently obtained a bull of restitution from the pope, which proved prejudicial to his interests, for by so doing he became liable to a *præmunire*, and subjected himself to the anger of the throne. he retired to Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire; but of the exact date of his death nothing is known.

§ 127. His real offence was the method in which he defended the doctrines of the church. for when he had advanced what might be fairly said in favour of its tenets, he acknowledged its accidental defects, and betrayed the weakness of a cause which could not be supported unless other authority were admitted than such as can be derived from the Scriptures³. He denied not the errors which the use of images produced, but esteemed them remediable evils, while he thought that the figures themselves were useful in instructing the unlearned, and reminding all Christians of the events which they described; he wished therefore that such false representations of the Deity as existed should be removed, and more correct ones substituted in their place. It was on the same principle that he advocated the cause of pilgrimages⁴. To visit a spot where some martyr had suffered, or some event connected with religion had occurred, could not fail to excite a lively remembrance, while for the convenience of those who frequented such places, the erection of a church or convent was judicious and praiseworthy. He argued that the prayers offered at such shrines or images were addressed to the person represented, while the lively impression excited in the mind of the devotee served to render these acts of adoration more strong and availing, but it should be remarked,⁵ that he says nothing of indulgences granted in consequence of pilgrimages, and advises people not to spend their time in them,⁶ but rather to read and to hear the word of God.

§ 128. In defending the papal supremacy, he used the well-known text,⁷ 'Thou art Peter,' &c, and allowed that the pope was possessed of authority equal to that of an apostle, though he would not admit that he might alter any institution of Christ. With regard to the religious orders,⁸ his opinion was, that their

¹ Lewis, 44.

² Ibid. 143.

³ Ibid. 61, 77.

⁴ Ibid. 69.

⁵ Ibid. 70.

⁶ Ibid. 78.

⁷ Ibid. 94.

⁸ Ibid. 95, &c.

variety promoted activity; and if these men had not been friars they might have been something worse; that their dresses were to remind them of their vows, that their possessions were dedicated to God's service, and, like the wealth of churches, might have been employed to less profitable uses, while such institutions formed a retreat for the sons of noble families, and were at least a fault less offensive to the Almighty than negligence of his honour. He freely expresses his disapprobation of many abuses which had been introduced, but argues on the general ground that they were at liberty to impose on themselves any laws they chose, in extenuation of some absurd regulations which had been adopted among certain of the religious orders.¹

§ 129 He considered the Bible² as the foundation of his faith, and advised the laity to study it, conceiving that no man should be punished for heresy, till the error of his opinions had been clearly shown him, and in this respect he deemed the power of the church to be declaratory, rather than to consist in defining and decreeing points of faith; he allowed of the marriage of the clergy,³ and disapproved of the ecclesiastical laws about fasting.⁴ Thus little did many of his opinions differ from those of Wickliffe, while the milder reasoning which he used, together with the advantage possessed by him, in advocating the established order of things, contributed much to spread his sentiments, and to induce his countrymen to examine the grounds of their religion. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that he became an object of hatred to a body which he endeavoured to reform; but it is not easy to perceive the source of the dislike which was shown him by the temporal lords, unless, indeed, we take into consideration the general influence of the clergy^(a), and the facility with which prejudice is conveyed. He does not appear to have possessed any very superior talents or to have been calculated for a martyr; yet God can work by weak instruments as surely as by those which appear to be strong, and to Him be the glory.

§ 130. The troublous times which succeeded this period furnish but little matter for the ecclesiastical historian, to whom the ground is barren till we begin to approach the era of the Reformation. The advocates of persecution ceased not to endeavour to eradicate all opinions contrary to their own, and the sufferings of their victims became more and more efficacious in the propagation

(a) In the first parliament of Edward IV., the temporal lords amounted to thirty-five, the spiritual to forty-eight. This is probably the real solution of the difficulty. Henry's *Hist. Eng.* x. 280 and 65

¹ Lewis, 100.

³ Ibid. 208.

² Ibid. 198.

⁴ Ibid. 209.

of the reformed tenets; while the vices of the clergy were calculated to substantiate and confirm the accusations of their enemies. In 1490, Innocent VIII sent an epistle to Archbishop Morton, directing him to reform the religious orders, and the pastoral letter addressed by the metropolitan to the abbot of St Alban's,¹ furnishes a sad picture of the depravity which reigned within their walls. They are accused of many crimes, and charged with turning out the modest women from two nunneries under their jurisdiction, and of substituting in their room females of the worst characters. In one case a married woman, whose husband was still alive, had been made prioress of Pray, for the purpose of keeping up an adulterous connexion with one of the monks of St. Alban's.² Fox gives a detailed account of nearly twenty individuals who were burnt for heresy, between the death of Lord Cobham and 1509, when Henry VIII ascended the throne, and this fact will greatly account for the facility with which the doctrines of the Reformation, when published, gained a rapid admission into this country.

§ 131 In taking a summary view of the history of the church up to the period at which we have arrived, we must regard the ecclesiastical establishment both as a civil engine and as a spiritual body. The reason why the state has allowed any temporal wealth or authority to be granted to the church, beyond the mere support of those who are engaged in the offices of religion, depends on the well-grounded presumption, that educated men acting under the sanctions of religion are peculiarly likely to exert the influence which they thus possess in the promotion of civil order and sound morality, and by this means to benefit the body politic; and we may presume that God has ordained that it shall be so, in order that, as the preaching of the first followers of Christ was supported by a Divine authority, which enabled them occasionally to work miracles, so the instructions imparted by the minister of God's word in the present day, should be aided and facilitated by the support of earthly power. This position is so sound in itself, that the only question on which a reasonable doubt can remain is, as to whether this power should be lodged in the hands of the ecclesiastic himself, or only furnished in his aid by the civil magistrate. But in the periods of which we have been examining the history, the power in question was vested in the ecclesiastic; and by degrees he was found to exert it for the aggrandisement of his own order, and to become a rival of the crown and aristocracy. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the power originally granted for spiritual objects had been utterly misused, and converted to an end for which it was not at first destined.

¹ Wilk. *Cons.* iii 632

² *Acts and Mon* 586, &c. vol. 1.

§ 132. It does not, however, follow, that the authority thus created was useless as a civil engine, and the very acquisition of such an influence, dependent solely on opinion, must lead to the presumption that much benefit accrued from its existence. We have before seen that the power of the papacy arose from the injustice of the crown; and that as the interference of a foreign power, exerted in the cause of justice, made the people at first look up to its support, so the policy of the crown afterwards induced the king frequently to join with the pope in oppressing the church and plundering its property. Each party sought its own immediate advantage, without consulting the interests, spiritual or temporal, of those committed to its care. In this state of things, the right of appointing to ecclesiastical benefices was of the utmost importance, and for this privilege there were in fact three competitors. The lower clergy sought to elect those who were destined to govern them, the pope, or higher clergy, desired to appoint them, and the king was anxious that the nomination should be vested in himself. The same competitors must exist in every church establishment, and disputes will necessarily arise, whenever the situations in the church are invested with such temporal advantages as render the acquisition of them an object of solicitude.

§ 133. When the higher stations conferred nothing but spiritual superiority, attended with temporal difficulties and danger, the appointment was safely lodged in the hands of the lower clergy, who had no inducements to elect any but the fittest governors, while the subordinate places were filled by men who derived their authority from their ecclesiastical superior, or the election of the people, with the charge of whom they were entrusted. Bishoprics, therefore, were filled by the election of the clergy belonging to the see; and as the establishment of parish-priests rendered the number of electors too large, they were chosen by the members of the cathedral church alone. But when the bishopric was endowed with a temporal estate, and men might wish to become bishops without desiring a spiritual office, the king was anxious to promote his own friends, and sound policy induced him to place this newly-established temporal power in hands which might render it serviceable to his government. This created a dispute between the crown and the chapter, and the king very frequently deprived the chapter of its just rights, and turned the revenues of the church into the pockets of his favourites or himself. If the church establishment were of any benefit to the nation, the nation was injured by this injustice, and the churchman, oppressed by the king, and unable to obtain redress from the aristocracy, sought it from the pope. Here, then, the see of Rome claimed a right to consult the

general benefit of Christendom, by appointing proper persons to the more exalted situations, and pretended to manage the temporal wealth of the church, for the advantage of the whole Christian body politic.

§ 134. The appointment might safely have been committed to any one of the three parties, if they had acted up to the pretensions on which they claimed it, but as each in their practice deemed the ecclesiastical office a mere temporal property, the persons so appointed, and the rest of the community, regarded the matter in no other light, and when they looked for spiritual guides, they could find nothing but lordly governors. The clergy, when they elected, sought their own immediate interests, and the prospect of future elections made the community, to whom the church belonged, subject to eternal cabals. The king neglected the interests of the church, and made the preferment a reward for a courtier, or a means of enriching himself; and the pope generally nominated a foreigner, who utterly disregarded the cure of souls. It was the wealth and importance of the situations which induced each of these three parties to overlook the good of the people, and against this, therefore, the attacks of the first reformers were naturally directed; and the grossness of the abuse, which was everywhere exposed to their view, induced them to run into the extreme of denying that any temporal wealth should be assigned permanently for the support of the ministers of religion.

§ 135. No question can be attended with greater real difficulty than the ascertaining the proper quantity of temporal wealth which ought to be assigned to an ecclesiastical body, in order to make it as efficient as possible, for as any quantity, however great, may be used to the advantage of the state, so poverty will hardly ensure the existence of those virtues which render the churchman beneficial to society, in a political point of view. A small quantity of wealth and power would only have exposed the churchman of this period to the rapacity of the court and nobles, and the very safety of civilised society depended, in some measure, on the ability of the church to maintain its rights, for however barbarous the church was at that time, the king and his lords were generally worse, but there can be no doubt that the height to which the church power had now risen, rendered the members of that body totally unfit for spiritual duties, and made a reformation absolutely necessary. The time was come, when either their wealth and power must be taken from the clergy, or Christianity would be destroyed by those who were her appointed guardians. And the attacks of the poor priests were formidable to the priesthood, because they were backed by truth. The bishoprics had now become places of such vast importance, in a political point of view,

that the appointment could only be safely lodged in the crown, and by degrees this arrangement took place; the chapter generally elected by the advice of the court, and the pope sanctioned the election by nominating the same man, but Wiclif and his followers, who saw the spiritual evils of such an order of things, without regarding the difficulties which attended any other system, prevented perhaps moderate people from listening to their advice, when they beheld their doctrines coupled with such extreme measures of reform.

§ 136. Another abuse of the same sort existed in this circumstance, that most of the important situations in the state were monopolized by churchmen. From their superior education, they were probably better suited to the performance of many civil duties than any of their contemporaries, and there are frequent complaints of their engrossing offices of every description. This augmented the evil before complained of, and tended to withdraw the clergy from their peculiar duties, but in this case the jarring interests of the laity would generally provide a remedy, as well as counteract the injustice of that exclusive jurisdiction which the church claimed over her own members. Both these abuses might tend perhaps to delay the progress of civilization, but in the end they were sure to be overcome by it. With regard to the other, the temporal wealth of the clergy, while the corruption of the doctrines of Christianity prevailed, there seemed no limit to its extent; for there is no reason why an ecclesiastical dominion might not have been established in any or all the kingdoms of Europe, as well as in the papal states. Every event, therefore, which drew the attention of the people, and led them to examine the doctrines of Christianity, or the conduct of the clergy, assisted in loosening the fetters by which the minds of the nation were held captive. And it is in this point that our gratitude is peculiarly due to Wiclif and his poor priests. The translation of the Scriptures, and the tracts which he wrote, dwelling on the vices of the clergy, and enforcing the leading features of Christianity, instructed many, who in their turn became teachers, and excited inquiry, while the barbarous severities with which the clergy punished those who differed from them, must have attracted the notice of every one, and disposed them to regard the church with no very friendly feeling.

§ 137 The steps then towards a reformation which had been made were many, though they were little observed perhaps by the majority of the most intelligent among the clergy. The wealth of the clergy and the secular nature of their pursuits were observed, and called forth the animadversions of those who wished to remedy existing abuses, and who were not friendly to the established

hierarchy. The Scriptures had been translated, and were read, not to any great extent indeed, but they were read, and might be procured in English. There were many individuals ready to propagate the truths of the Gospel, and to undergo the greatest sufferings in the cause which they had espoused, and these not only men of education, but many of them possessed of power and rank. The dawn of reformation was still, as far as human eye could distinguish, far distant, there was still much to be encountered and borne, but the eye of faith in Wickliffe clearly foresaw, that Christianity must be restored to its just authority. Perhaps, in examining the steps which led to the Reformation, too much stress is sometimes laid on the individuals who stood forward in the cause, and their succession, and the connexion between those who succeeded each other, is traced with a minuteness which tends rather to cloud the truth, than to place it in the clearest light. Let anyone study the word of God while he beholds the systems of error and knavery which have been pretended to be built upon it, and the necessity of reformation will need no other light than that which Providence has furnished. Greathead and Fitzralph, Wickliffe and Pecock, Sawtre and Lord Cobham, may have advanced the Reformation among us, but he who will behold the truth must look beyond these instruments to their great Artificer. The flame which was kindled among the Albigenses, and in the valleys of Piedmont, may have lent its brightness to dispel the thick darkness which enveloped us, but we shall fail to derive its greatest advantage from the study of ecclesiastical history, if we turn not our eyes to that brightness which no human device can extinguish, and look not up to the true Church of Christ, built upon the Rock of truth, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. 1509, TO THE END
OF THE DIVORCE OF THE QUEEN, AND THE SEPARATION
FROM ROME, 1534

151 Ecclesiastical exemptions 152 Hunne murdered 153 Impolicy of the clergy with regard to the immunities 154 Faults of the clergy 155 Wolsey, his rise 156 He spoils Henry VIII. 157 The progress of literature favourable to the Reformation 158 Origin of the divorce 159 Progress of it Campegio 160 Wolsey's fall 161 Conduct after it 162 The divorce referred to the universities 163 The opinions of the universities 164 Cranmer made archbishop of Canterbury 165 Cranmer dissolves the marriage Final rupture with Rome 166 The parliament join in the rupture 167 More and Fisher 168 Character of More 169 Character of Fisher 170 Persecutions 171 Supplication of beggars Practice of prelates 172 Effects of discussion 173 Effects of persecution 174 Review of the Reformation

§ 151 THE events which were most instrumental in producing the Reformation in England belong rather to the civil than the ecclesiastical historian, for though the spirit of reform was amply spread throughout the people, yet unless other circumstances had tended to promote a change, and to weaken the power of the church, it is probable that this body might still have been able to suppress those innovations which sapped the foundations on which the superstructure of its wealth and authority was raised. Whatever contributed to weaken the influence of the ecclesiastical body, gave at the same time a greater freedom of discussion to the laity, and the extension of knowledge at once paved the way to truth, and deprived the clergy of that branch of power which consisted in their being almost the only depositories of every species of information.¹

The first event which bears on these points was a bill which passed the Commons in 1513, subjecting all robbers and murderers to the civil power, and which, in order that it might get through the Lords, had two provisos attached to it; first, that bishops, priests and deacons (*) should be exempted from it, and, secondly,

(*) It is hardly perhaps necessary to observe, that sub-deacons and the four inferior orders were subjected to the effects of it. As the greater part of this and the following chapter are abridged from Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, of which

there are many editions, and to which reference may be made without any difficulty, I shall omit the mention of the page in which the event occurs, and merely quote the book in which it is to be found.

¹ Burnet, 1.

that it should remain in force during this parliament only. At the termination of that period, the clergy were not satisfied that the bill should expire with the authority from which it sprung ; but some little time afterwards a preacher, at Paul's Cross, vehemently reprobated the idea of subjecting any ecclesiastics to the jurisdiction of the common course of law ; and this question was afterwards discussed before the king, who ultimately determined to support his own authority over all his subjects.

§ 152 While this point was in agitation, an event occurred which not only tended to irritate the minds of the people generally on this subject, but to throw the balance very much against the clergy in the opinion of the nation. Hunne, a respectable citizen of London (A D 1514), was put into the ecclesiastical court, for not paying certain fees to the priest of his parish, and was subsequently impolitic enough to sue the priest in a *præmunire*. Such indiscretion naturally suggested the idea to his spiritual opponents, that he must be tinged with heretical pravity, and he was consequently confined in the Lollaids' Tower, where he was soon after found hanging. The coroner's jury which sat on the body brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Horsey the chancellor, and other ecclesiastical officers, who, on the other hand, declared that he had put an end to himself. The persecution of this unfortunate man did not terminate here, for after having been tried for his heterodox opinions, and condemned, the murdered body was exposed to the flames. The convocation, too, vehemently attacked Dr. Standish, who, though a churchman, had ventured to advocate the cause of the civil power, and to declare that a breach of the common law, perpetrated by an ecclesiastic, should be punished by the civil authority. In this case, however, their malice was obviated by the support of the king, who had been convinced by Dr. Vesey that the immunities claimed by the clergy had no more foundation in scripture than in reason.

§ 153 After a considerable struggle the parties came to a sort of compromise, Horsey was brought before the court of king's bench, and the attorney-general did not proceed against him ; the question, indeed, seemed brought to a quiet termination, but nothing could tranquillize the minds of the people of London, whose hatred to the clergy became so excessive, that one of the arguments by which the bishops tried to prevail on the king not to suffer Horsey to be brought before a jury, was that they could expect no justice from men who were so vehemently prejudiced against them. The clergy themselves must have lost much in the good opinion of the people in general, by the obstinate manner in which they advocated so odious a cause. They seemed determined

to join themselves to crimes of which they must have disapproved in their hearts, and in coupling their own immunities with the outrages of some of their members, they extended to the whole body that general detestation which would otherwise have justly fallen on the individuals in fault. This proceeding of the clergy, in withdrawing the cause of Horsey into their own courts from before a lay tribunal, might have arisen from mistaken principles, but the ecclesiastical power should then have proceeded to punish his enormities with due severity; whereas Horsey seems not only to have escaped, but to have been rewarded for his crime.¹

§ 154 Such conduct could not fail to make the people entertain a low opinion of the justice of the plea itself, when the exercise of it, in the present instance, was so palpably iniquitous, and naturally inclined them to listen to arguments in opposition to a claim which they had already learnt to dislike. Nor were the political power or the ordinary lives of the ecclesiastical body likely to counteract among the nobility the injurious influence of those feelings which pervaded the commonalty. We have an authentic account of the domestic economy of the greatest churchman of this period,² whose establishment vied with, and even surpassed, that of most of the princes of Europe, and whose sole administration of public affairs must have been very grating to men who deemed themselves entitled to a share at least, if not to the whole, of the concerns of government.

§ 155 Cardinal Wolsey was the son of poor but honest parents, and owed his extraordinary rise to his talents as much as to fortune. He was chaplain to Henry VII, and employed by him in some important transactions, much to the satisfaction of that monarch. When he was first introduced to Henry VIII by Fox, bishop of Winchester, he was one of the king's chaplains, and about forty years of age. The immediate object of that prelate was probably to raise up a rival to Lord Surrey, and the choice was so well made that it soon became evident to all that the new favourite would rapidly surpass his patron in the affections of the king. He was successively made bishop of Lincoln, archbishop of York, and held, besides these, the see of Tournay in France. He was soon afterwards created cardinal, and legate a latere by Leo X., and his own sovereign advanced him to the chancellorship of England, and allowed him successively to hold the sees of Durham and Winchester. The influence which he possessed over Henry was founded on a profound knowledge of the character of the king, and the determination of making everything give way to the one object of pleasing his master. Henry was naturally fond of amusement, and

¹ Supplication of Beggars. Fox, ii. 232

² Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*. Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. 1

Wolsey easily persuaded him to devote himself to its pursuit; well aware that the administration of business must thus fall into the hands of the favourite. In these two objects the cardinal seems to have been indefatigable, he led the monarch on from one pageant to another, and exerted himself so actively in managing the affairs of the country, that no transactions of importance should seem to be neglected. Of his talents as a statesman there can be no doubt, but his honesty has been questioned, and he has been accused of having consulted his own interests and pique against Charles V. in the later affairs of his administration. He had indeed no great reason to be pleased with the emperor, who had probably promised assistance, and held out hopes which he never intended to realize; but we need not seek for secret reasons in a matter which admits of an easier solution; the personal anger of Catharine, and of her family, will sufficiently account for the existence of such reports, without taking into account the degree of odium which an exalted station generally draws upon itself; while the true policy of England¹ will satisfactorily answer any arguments which may be drawn from the proceedings of the court of Henry when under the immediate direction of the cardinal.

§ 156. The anxiety with which Wolsey sought the popedom was excessive, and, in his eagerness to obtain it, he was perhaps betrayed into some steps which were hardly consistent with the interests of his country, but it should be remembered that Henry was scarcely less anxious than himself, and no one can greatly blame a minister who diligently promotes the earnest desires of his master, even when his own advancement is the object of their pursuit. The readiness with which Wolsey complied with all the wishes of the king, and the pains which he took to please him, produced a very injurious effect on the mind of that monarch himself. Henry possessed by nature considerable abilities, and his education had been carefully attended to, so that no young prince ever came to the throne with greater prospects of fulfilling the fond expectations of his people. These flattering appearances, however, were in a great degree destroyed by that want of restraint² of which he was the continual victim. Henry, for instance, was by temper and education inclined to show the most profound reverence for the church of Rome, yet, even in this, his self-will hurried him to contribute to the overthrow of an authority which he had himself defended (^a).

(*) In 1521, Henry published a work against Luther, of which the title is, 'Assertio Septem Sacramentorum, adversus Martin. Lutherum,

ædita ab invictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ Rege et Domino Hiberniæ Henrico ejus Nomine Octavo' 4to. It was printed by Pynson, Lond.

¹ Burnet, part iii. 14.

² Caven *Wols* 543

§ 157. The literary character of the monarch, as well as of the favourite, considerably promoted the advancement of sound learning in the kingdom, ¹ both were munificent patrons, but the cardinal in particular, if his plans had been brought to perfection, would have left a standing and splendid monument of his greatness and his wisdom (^a). Greek literature ² was now beginning to flourish, and the study of the Scriptures became a favourite pursuit with those who engaged in it, the first patrons, therefore, of these learned bodies, who promoted its advancement, though the firm friends of the papacy, were, in fact, preparing the public mind for the reception of the Reformation (^b). Thus Colet, too, who was a liberal promoter of the study of the Greek language, when he became dean of St Paul's, read public lectures (^c) in that cathedral on the epistles.³ In this work he was frequently assisted by many of his learned friends, and carefully provided that the church should never be without a sermon on the Sunday. These innovations quickly brought him under the suspicion of heresy; but Archbishop Warham dismissed the charges brought against him, and he continued to preside over that body which he so richly benefited and adorned. The enemies of innovation thus quickly perceived the tendency of these proceedings, but the more enlightened members of the establishment could not overlook the necessity of

1521, it exists in MS in the Vatican, and has been reprinted Antwerp, 1522, Rome, 1543 The reprint, Lugdun, 1561, contains Henry's answer to Luther, and a preface. (See Strype's *Mem* i 51.) When presented to Leo X, it obtained for the king of England the title of Defender of the Faith, which had been previously borne by several of the kings of England.—Burnet, i

(^a) His plan for the foundation of Cardinal's College, now Christ Church, Oxford, was as follows—Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* p 146

A dean and subdean

60 superior canons,	{	all to be engaged in study
40 inferior canons,		
13 chaplains,	{	for the service of the vice of the chapel.
12 singing men,		
16 choristers,		

Public professors of the college and of the university; of divinity, canon law, civil law, medicine, liberal arts, and literæ humaniores.

Private lecturers or tutors, to read lectures in philosophy, logic, sophistry (rhetoric), and literæ humaniores

4 censores morum et eruditionis

3 bursars, together with inferior officers, in total numbers 186

(^b) It is worthy of remark (Fuller, v 170), that the chief of those who for their talents or attainments were invited from Cambridge to become members of the cardinal's college in Oxford, were subsequently cast into prison on the suspicion of heresy. Faith suffered martyrdom; Cox was tutor to Edward VI and was an exile, Tyndale, Taverner, and Goodman promoted the translation of the Bible. The offer was made to Cranmer, but he refused it (Strype's *Cranmer*, p 3)

(^c) Stafford read lectures on the Scriptures in Cambridge, 1524 (Strype's *Mem* i. 74), being the first who substituted the text for the sentences. Latimer was one of his hearers.

¹ Strype's *Mem* i 52. ² Knight's *Life of Colet*, 13 ³ Ibid 59, &c.

endeavouring to introduce some improvements, for such was the general ignorance of the Scriptures at this period, that, as Erasmus tells us, the spurious Gospel of Nicodemus¹ was set up in the cathedral of Canterbury; and it was a rare thing to find a New Testament in any church. The re-establishment of sound learning was the only human remedy to such evils; and the art of printing, while it promoted most effectually this object, produced perhaps in this country its most beneficial effects in disseminating the opinions of the more enlightened among the mass of society (^d). The kingdom was thus prepared to take advantage of those external events which Providence was about to bring forward, and in which the instruments were blindly working to produce an end the most opposite to their individual wishes (^e). Henry VIII., the public advocate of the papacy, and who had been honoured with the title of Defender of the Faith, was to become the chief means of humbling the papal power, while Wolsey and the other patrons of learning were opening the eyes of the world to those abuses, of which no one exhibited a stronger instance than the cardinal himself (^f). It may, perhaps, be asserted with truth that no one of these causes would by itself have brought about so important a change, but each contributed partially to this end, and their combination produced it.

§ 158 The event which put all these springs in motion was the divorce². Catharine of Spain had been previously married to Arthur, the elder brother of Henry, and the marriage had in all probability been consummated; yet, on the death of the young prince of Wales, Henry VII., unwilling to send back the infanta and her dowry, had betrothed her to his second son. In order to accomplish this object, he had obtained a bull from Rome; but it appears that he had himself afterwards repented of the transaction, and that Henry VIII., when he became fourteen years of age, made a protestation against the connexion, though, when he ascended the throne, he was nevertheless persuaded by some of the council to marry his brother's widow.

(^d) It is observed by Henry (in *Hist. Eng.* xii. 286) that the early growth of English literature, and the perfection of our language, is greatly owing to the popular nature of the first productions of the British press; so that while foreign printers were advancing the study of the classics, our own were rendering their native tongue pure and classical.

(^e) There were at this time many persons brought before the ecclesias-

tical courts for heresy, particularly in Essex and London. (Strype's *Mem.* i. 113, &c.)

(^f) No man perceived the necessity of reforming abuses more strongly than Wolsey (Strype's *Mem.* i. 72), he instituted a general legantine visitation for that purpose in 1523, 24, in which he was supported by Fox, but his purposes came to nothing.

¹ Knight's *Life of Colet*, 64.

² Burnet, book 11

Erasm. *Perigrinat. Rel. ergo.*

(A D. 1527.) The king and queen had now lived together for eighteen years; she had borne him several children, all of whom except Mary had been taken off by early deaths, and the mind of Henry became scrupulous as to the legality of the connexion, and alarmed lest the threatenings of the Jewish law should be accomplished in his dying childless¹ Wolsey, on the other hand, was accused by the friends of Catharine of having suggested these doubts to the mind of his sovereign, and it was said that he did so by means of Longland, the king's confessor nor did his enemies scruple to assert that it was through his secret influence that the French ambassadors questioned the legitimacy of Mary, when her marriage with the duke of Orleans was in agitation.² These charges, however, appear to be unfounded, and it is even probable that the scruple about the marriage had strongly affected the mind of Henry before his affections were fixed on Anne Boleyn, but neither of these points is of much real importance at present, though they have been discussed as if the character of the Reformation depended on the principles which actuated those with whom it originated. Of the sincerity of Henry's religious scruples, and the real tenderness of his conscience, there can now remain no great difference of opinion; if all these particulars were established in his favour, it would probably produce no great change in our sentiments concerning him.

§ 159. The first proposals for the divorce were made to the court of Rome while Clement VII. was a close prisoner in the hands of the Imperialists, so that though his ears were open to the requests of the English messengers, yet, till his escape, nothing was done in furtherance of the king's desire and before this time the matter had certainly so far advanced, that the dissolution of the marriage had become the great object of Henry's wishes

In 1528, Campegio was sent to England finally to decide the question in conjunction with Cardinal Wolsey, and he brought with him a bull which was to confirm the sentence of the legates. This document, however, he was directed not to show to anyone but the king; for Clement had still the greatest reason to dread a new rupture with the Emperor, which any appearance of readiness on his part, in forwarding the divorce, might have produced, and he seems to have been in the greatest alarm till this bull was committed to the flames, since the policy which he adopted was of that intricate nature, which such a disclosure would have considerably disconcerted. Campegio made no haste in a journey from which he expected to reap little profit and much unpleasantness,

¹ Lev. xx 21² Burnet, 1. Cavend. *Wols* 428.

and after many delays arrived in this country, where, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Wolsey, he strictly adhered to his instructions concerning the bull. These causes so retarded all proceedings, that the court was not opened until May 31, 1529; and after some other delays, arising from the refusal of the queen to appear a second time before the legates, and her appeal to Rome, Campegio, at the moment when every one expected the sentence to be pronounced, adjourned the court from July 23 to October 1, as being vacation time in the Roman courts.

§ 160. In so doing he was probably aware of an avocation of the cause to Rome which had taken place a few days before the adjournment. The king, it may be supposed, was much irritated at this double dealing on the part of Clement, but he exhibited no outward marks of his displeasure, and even received the cardinals with apparent cordiality,¹ but the interview at Grantham was the last which Wolsey enjoyed. He was soon after deprived of his chancellorship, and subjected to a *præmunire*. The treatment which he now experienced was most cruel and unjust, for the legantine office, which was the pretended ground of this attack, had been exercised with the consent and approbation of the king, and if in compliance with the wishes of his master he had been guilty of some unjustifiable conduct, yet surely no act of which he was ever accused could be more unjustifiable than the condemnation to which he was exposed, and even in point of compliance he seems often to have tried to check² the madness of Henry's proceedings, nor could it be expected that the minister of such a tyrant could be very independent in his conduct.

§ 161. Wolsey quietly submitted to every severity, hoping by such compliance to soften down the feelings of his master, whose favour he expected to have regained, could he once have been readmitted into his presence. This, however, was prevented by the watchful zeal of his enemies at court, who from his long prosperity had become very numerous, and at the head of whom we must not forget to mention the lady who had now possession of the monarch's affections. He was sent, therefore, to his diocese of York, where he appears to have given universal satisfaction;³ but he was subsequently removed on the charge of high treason, and died at Leicester Abbey in his way to London. His pride and ambition were neither apostolical nor Christian, but they are the vices of human nature, and were peculiarly those to which he was most exposed. For them he is amenable to the tribunal of God, and not to that earthly power which had led him into

¹ Cavend *Wols.* 442, et passim.

² *Ibid* 543

³ Burnet, p. 111

them, and to which power he was in all appearance faithful to the last; and there must have been something fundamentally good in a man who could so attach his servants to his person¹ The latter interviews between them and their master are quite pathetic, and the respect shown to him in the north, during the whole of his disgrace, speaks more highly for his general conduct² than volumes of panegyric, while the testimony of an iniquitous bill, which was brought in soon after, for cancelling the king's private debts,³ proves most strongly the goodness of a minister who could raise the country into such a state of prosperity as is described in the preamble. After his fall, he showed the greatest signs of weakness and childish clinging to the hopes of re-obtaining the royal favour,⁴ but on this object alone he had placed his affections, so that in reviewing his life one cannot help mournfully regretting that he never served his God with half the zeal he served his king, but while we leave the sinner to the mercy of the Almighty, we must not overlook the human greatness and superiority of the man.

§ 162 All progress in the divorce was now rendered nearly hopeless: the cause had been removed by a papal avocation into Italy, and notwithstanding the promises which were continually given to the English ambassadors, little expectation could be entertained that justice would be obtained in a place where so many conflicting interests must delay the final decision. The question was freed from this dilemma⁵ by the sagacity of Cianmer (*), who, when his opinion was accidentally asked in private, suggested the idea of settling the dispute by reference to the opinions received from the several universities, and Henry no sooner heard of the plan than he adopted it. The means taken in order to procure a favourable answer must probably for ever remain a secret, but there appears to have been little or no bribery used, in comparison with what is generally represented. In Oxford and Cambridge it is likely that favour and influence were exerted, and the whole discussion seems to have been considered as a party question, but the interested prejudices of the ecclesiastical members of those societies were as capable of warping the opinions of the judges against the cause, as any court interests could have tended to promote it.

(*) See Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* III 437, 3, where it is with some appearance of reason attributed rather to Wolsey, but, after all, the cardinal may previously have con-

sulted the universities, and Cianmer have merely said, We shall never receive any decision, except through the universities.

¹ Cavend *Wols* 456

⁴ Cavend *Wols*. 450, &c.

² *Ibid.* 495, &c

⁵ Burnet, 1.

³ Burnet, 1.

In the Sorbonne, though the royal influence was doubtless exerted in favour of the divorce,¹ yet the conduct of that body was certainly open to the charge of favouring the other side; through the force of party feeling. nor must it be forgotten that truth is as much obscured by prejudice as by any other cause; and we cannot doubt that the blindest churchman must have seen the tendency of such an appeal from the authority of the pope to the opinions of the learned. In England, it could be no secret that Anne would probably favour the reformers, and what circumstance could have conduced more strongly to dispose the mass of the clergy to promote the interests of Catharine?²

§ 163. There is no reason to suppose that the influence exercised in France or England preponderated much on either side, in both, there was the interest of the court balanced against that of the church, yet in each of these countries it was decided that a marriage with a brother's widow was contrary to the law of God, and therefore null from the beginning (*). The same and corresponding answers were obtained from many other universities and learned individuals. The Protestant divines generally coincided in maintaining the illegality of the former marriage, but were some of them doubtful as to the propriety of a new connexion. In order to enforce these decisions with their full weight on the mind of Clement, a letter was addressed to him from England, which was signed by those chiefly who were immediately connected with the king, yet the fears by which the mind of the pope was biassed, made him continue that system of deceit which he had carried on from the beginning. The ready compliance of the clergy in this country may partly be accounted for, in consequence of their then lying under an unjust præmunire, for having acknowledged the legantine power of Wolsey, which Henry had personally authorized. In order to buy off this (1530), the convocation consented to a considerable subsidy, and, in the bill which granted it, the king's supremacy was asserted. it was, however, with much difficulty that this clause was passed, and so little with the good-will of the lower house, that after the acknowledgment, a proviso was inserted, *quantum per Christi legem licet*

§ 164. The parliament at the same time objected to the constitutions framed by the clergy,² which fell heavily on the

(*) The reader will find a different account of the matter given in Lingard, vi. 224. The discussion is important as far as the characters of the individuals concerned are at issue, but of little consequence as to

the question generally. Henry may appear more or less guilty, but his guilt affects not the Reformation. The Roman Catholic may reject him, but Protestants will hardly claim him as their own.

¹ Burnet, p. iii.

² Stuype's *Mem.* i. 198

laity, with regard to mortuaries, probate of wills, &c., and in a later session (1532) made complaints against the manner in which the ecclesiastical courts examined and tried delinquents, for when brought before them on no definite charges, and without accusers, they had no alternative but to abjure opinions which possibly they had never held, or to be proceeded against as heretics. But in consequence of some offence which the king conceived against the house for rejecting a bill about wards, this motion was not carried into a law till 1534. This session was also marked by the enactment of a law against annates, by which all persons were forbidden to pay their first-fruits to the see of Rome. These steps were probably taken merely to alarm that court, for, though Henry was determined to proceed, whatever might be the consequence, yet at this time he had probably no wish to produce an open rupture. In this autumn (1532) his marriage was solemnized with Anne Boleyn, and upon the death of Warham (August), the archbishopric was offered to Cranmer, whose modesty, as well as unwillingness to take the oaths to the pope, delayed for some time his consecration. These obstacles, however, were both overcome (March 30, 1533), and he was contented to swear true obedience to the pope, with the salvo of a protestation, that his so doing should not affect the duty which he ^{owed} to his God, his king, or country.

§ 165 The first act of his primacy was the declaration of the sentence of divorce, in conformity to the decision of convocation (*). Which act at this moment seemed rather misplaced, for the marriage with Catharine must have either been from the beginning illegal, and a formal divorce therefore unnecessary, or the connexion with Anne was nothing less than bigamy. The king himself continued to the very last anxious to preserve terms with Rome, and even sent messengers to justify his conduct. One great source of

(*) The texts of Scripture which bear on this question are Gen xxxviii 8, Deut xxv 5, which direct the brother of a man who died without an heir to raise up children to his brother, Levit xviii 16, which forbids a man to marry his brother's wife; 18, or two sisters; and Levit xx. 21, which threatens that in that case they shall die childless, from whence it would appear, that the marriage was illegal, except for the purpose of preventing the extinction of a Jewish family. By the present law of England, the marriage might be set aside during the lives of both parties, 'ad reformandos mores,' but

if not so set aside, it would be afterwards good in law, and the children legitimate. Calvin attempted to reconcile the difference between Deut. xxv 5 and Levit xviii. 16, by interpreting the word *brother* as a near kinsman, an extension of which it will undoubtedly admit, as in the instance of Boaz and Ruth; but to which it cannot be confined, when Gen xxxviii 8, and the case of the seven brethren mentioned in the Gospels, are considered. Second edition. This has been since changed, and the marriage is now, ipso facto, void

delay in the process in Italy had arisen from the refusal of Henry to appear in person, or by proxy, when summoned before the pope, an act of submission which he declared to be contrary to the rights of an independent prince, and esteemed a species of personal indignity at the same time the discussion was involved in greater difficulty, because the strength of the argument in favour of the illegality of the marriage depended on the total inadequacy of any papal dispensation to set aside the law of marriage established from the word of God, and this argument the pope would not allow to be brought forward in his presence. Yet all this might have been overlooked, and peace have been preserved by mutual concessions, had not the Imperial faction hurried on the pope to give a decision on the case, when he found that a messenger who was expected from England did not arrive. The French and English authorities who were in Rome (1534) had made strong remonstrances against such precipitation, and urged the possibility of the messenger's having been accidentally delayed; but this prudent advice was offered in vain, and the messenger who brought the necessary concessions (March 23) was met on his arrival by the rejoicings of the Imperialists, who were exulting in the victory which their cause had gained^(b). Reconciliation was now too late, and the apparent indignity with which his sincere endeavours after peace had been treated rendered Henry more determined than ever to do away with the papal authority within the precincts of his dominions.

§ 166. The parliament was in every way willing to promote the views of Henry in opposition to the church of Rome, for it had already abrogated the papal supremacy, and established that of the king^(a) (A D 1534). Its other acts were, one concerning the punishment of heretics, in which the inquisitorial power of the bishops' court was destroyed, inasmuch as they could now only

^(b) The correctness of this account, which is taken from Burnet, is controverted by Lingard (vi 267, n. 153), on the ground, that the royal assent was granted March 30th to the bill which set aside the authority of the pope, when nothing could possibly have been known of the decision given on the 23rd. Henry had probably made up his mind to reject the authority of the pope before this, yet he might wish for the sanction of the court of Rome, with regard to his marriage, and have thought that the intimidation produced by these bills brought into parliament might not have been uninfluential in promoting a favourable issue. We can

hardly expect consistency of conduct from such a man as Henry.

^(a) The nature of the supremacy which Henry VIII claimed to himself is distinctly marked in Tonstal's Letter to Pole (Burnet, p. iii *Records*, No. 52). He states, That no man knew better than the king the difference between the duties of a Christian prince and spiritual persons. That he pretended not to the cure of souls, but to that authority which, while it vindicated his kingdom from a foreign and usurped power, would compel all persons within his dominions to conform to the laws of God.

proceed in open court, and by witnesses, and it was ordained that none were to be troubled for any of the pope's laws or canons^(b): another, relating to the succession, in which the children of the king, by Anne Boleyn, were declared heirs to the throne, at the same time, those who opposed this bill were adjudged traitors to the king, and an oath was framed for its observance, in which a clause was inserted, that the party swearing would bear true faith to no foreign authority or potentate, and deem any oath previously sworn to that effect as of no avail.

§ 167. This law was passed in a session during the spring (A D 1534), and though the oath was readily taken by the majority of the nation, Sir Thomas More, and Fisher bishop of Rochester, refused to do so, and were in consequence committed to the Tower. Fisher seems to have been a good man and a sincere papist, and was at this time very old and infirm, but he had not conducted himself with any great wisdom or prudence with respect to the

(b) The canon and civil law are by Blackstone (*Introduct* § 3, m) ranked among the *leges non scriptæ*, because they are received in England from custom, and not from any intrinsic authority of their own a point expressly declared in the statute 25 Hen. VIII c 21

By the term *civil law* is generally understood the municipal law of the Roman empire, as arranged from the confused mass of laws, edicts, and imperial decrees, first, by private lawyers, then by Theodosius, A D 438, and, lastly, by Justinian, about 533 The *Corpus Juris Civilis*, as compiled under his auspices, consists of—

1 The Institutes, which contain the elements or first principles of the Roman law, in four books

2. The Digests, or Pandects, in fifty books, containing the opinions and writings of eminent lawyers, digested in a systematic method.

3 A new Code, or Collection of Imperial Constitutions, in twelve books, the lapse of a whole century having rendered the former code of Theodosius imperfect

4 The Novels, or New Constitutions, posterior in time to the other books, and amounting to a Supplement to the Code; containing new decrees of successive emperors, as new questions happened to arise.

It was these which were found about 1130, at Amalfi, in Italy.

The canon law is a body of Roman ecclesiastical law relative to such matters as that church either has, or pretends to have, the proper jurisdiction over The *Corpus Juris Canonici* was compiled from the opinions of the Latin fathers, the decrees of general councils, and the decretal epistles and bulls of the holy see, by Gratian, an Italian monk, about 1151, and has received subsequent additions, it consists of,

1 Decreta Gratiani

2 Decretalia Gregorii IX

3 Liber Sextus Decretalium, and the Clementine Constitutions

4 The Extravagants of John XXII and his successors

Besides these pontifical laws, there are national canons established in synods held under the authority of a Roman legate, and provincial canons established by synods held in the provinces of Canterbury or York

By the statute 25 Hen VIII c xix and 2 Eliz c 1. it was enacted that a review should be had of the canon law, and till such review should be made, all canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provincial, being then already made, and not repugnant to the law of the land or the king's prerogative, should still be used and executed And as no such review has yet been perfected, upon this statute now depends the authority of the canon law in England.

maid of Kent. Elizabeth Barton had pretended to revelations concerning the king's death, and, like many impostors, half deceiving, half deceived, had become the tool of some designing priests, who preached her up as a prophetess, and foretold the destruction of Henry. She and some of her accomplices were afterwards hanged, and then made a confession of the cheat; for which she justly blamed her spiritual guides, who fostered the imposition. Fisher had to a certain degree promoted these proceedings by his countenance, and probably believed in her inspiration. Sir Thomas More, however, had placed no confidence in her predictions.

It had originally been in contemplation to comprehend both these distinguished individuals in the bill of attainder by which the other persons suffered; but the declarations of Sir Thomas More,¹ and the fear of bringing the question before the house of lords, saved him from this unmerited imputation,² while Fisher's name was inserted in the bill, though no proceedings were instituted against him. Both these men were, therefore, the objects of the displeasure of the court when the affair of the oath took place; and More, seeing from the first that he could expect no mercy, made up his mind to suffer, for he was well aware of the importance which would be attached to the refusal of a man of his own high character, and of the effect which such an example must have in discrediting the party of his opponents. He is justly considered by the church of Rome as a martyr to her cause, and every one must allow him the credit of having laid down his life in firmly maintaining his sincere opinions.

§ 168. His character is singularly splendid. He had raised himself by his honest exertions as a lawyer, and in 1523 was elected speaker of the house of commons, where he was distinguished for his opposition to the illegal attempts of the king's ministers. On one occasion, upon the demand of a supply, Cardinal Wolsey wished to have received an answer before he left the house, but the members preserved ^{an obstinate} silence, till at last their speaker, on his knees, with many compliments,³ so urged the privilege of the body, that the cardinal hastily retired in great anger. Upon the disgrace of Wolsey, More was made Lord Chancellor, being the first layman that ever arrived at that honour, and in this exalted station retained the same unblemished fame which had raised him to it. It is extraordinary that one who had in his writings expressed such liberal notions (^a), should

(^a) The Utopians allowed of no persecution for religious tenets, 264, power, but merely animadverted upon the evil doers, and, if necessary, and their priests had no temporal excommunicated them, 275 Sir T

¹ Wordsworth's *E B* ii 174

² Burnet, 1

³ Words *E B* ii 77

have been himself a persecutor, but he gloried in withstanding heretics by his pen and power, and the blindness of the times prevented him from seeing the practical advantage of that liberty of which he understood the theory. He was tried on the act passed, November, 1534, which made those who refused to take the oath relative to the succession liable to the penalties of treason contained in the former bill. When condemned he received his sentence with that placid serenity which had always marked his life. He prayed that, as St. Stephen and St. Paul were now blessed saints, though one had been present, and consented to the death of the other, so he in like manner, and his judges, might hereafter meet in heaven, to their everlasting salvation^(b). His playful disposition attended him to the scaffold, and he died in full hopes of a blessed eternity, with a pleasantry upon his lips. (1535) The death of this wise and good man leaves an indelible stain on the character of Henry, who, out of self-will and pique, suffered his faithful servant to be murdered by the hands of an executioner. Had the writer of *Utopia* acted up to his professions and opinions he must have proved a merciful and unpersecuting papist, if he had not become a Protestant, and this was certainly the character of More after he ceased to be chancellor, for though so fixed in his sentiments, that he was ready to die for them, yet he never blamed those who acted on different principles. His apparent obstinacy might possibly have arisen from his not rightly understanding the nature of the king's supremacy. He had viewed the pope as his spiritual father, and when the title of supreme head of the church was transferred to Henry, he felt that this species of authority could not be vested in a temporal prince. He would have been willing to swear to the succession,¹ had the preamble which restricted the papal authority been separated from it, and Cranmer² was anxious that this concession should have been made to the sentiments of More (as well as to those of Fisher, who denied not that the king and parliament had a right to nominate a successor to the throne), but he had to deal with a monarch who illbrooked

More's *Utopia*, *Han.* 1613. 12mo. He denies ever having caused heretics to be beaten or ill-treated, beyond being confined (*Works*, p. 901). But this must be taken in a very qualified sense. See Fox and Strype's *Mem.* i. 310 &c.

^(b) This account is taken from a Life of Sir T. More, published in Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* ii. 213, in which many interesting particulars of this good man are recorded. He

is there stated to have been tried in Westminster-hall, and condemned on the testimony of Rich, the king's solicitor. If these anecdotes be correct, which I much doubt, they add much to the injustice of his death. But under the second bill there was no necessity for any witnesses at all. It was by that act treason not to take the oath, which he refused to do. He was beheaded July 6th, 1535.

¹ Words. *Eccl. Biog.* ii. 177

² Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 39.

opposition,¹ and who, after the death of the chancellor, acknowledged the excellence of a servant whom his cruelty had destroyed

§ 169. Fisher was detained in prison above a twelvemonth, and treated with a severity which nothing can excuse, for at the age of fourscore he was actually in want of both clothes and fire.² The same act of parliament under which More suffered terminated his misery, in consequence of his speaking against the supremacy. The execution took place June 22, 1535.³ He was a learned and devout man, and it is more than probable that to him the two universities owe the foundation of the Margaret professorships of divinity, which were established by the king's grandmother, Margaret, countess of Richmond, to whom he was confessor, the colleges of St John's and Christ's, Cambridge, are of the same foundation. The countenance which he gave to the Maid of Kent may render the soundness of his judgment very dubious, and even the severities used by him towards those who differed from him in opinion may be attributed to sincere, though mistaken motives; nor can we fail to respect the man who would never exchange his small bishopric of Rochester for more valuable preferment, or, to use his own expression, desert his first wife because she was poor.

§ 170 The clergy at this time seem to have become the objects of the hatred of their fellow-citizens, nor can this surprise us, if we consider, not only the cruelty which was exercised towards heretics, but the liability under which every one lay of being called before the bishops' courts, a tribunal of which the authority was almost unlimited till the passing of the bill for punishing heretics.⁴

The limits of the work will hardly allow us to enter on any detailed account of those who suffered in the cause, and as an abridgment of the history of their deaths must destroy all those minute traits which peculiarly interest and improve us in the history of martyrs, we must content ourselves with a mere notice of some of them. Bilney, a clergyman of Cambridge; Byfield, a monk, and Tewkesbury, a citizen of London, were severally burnt as relapsed heretics.⁴ Bainham, a lawyer, was first whipped and tortured, and afterwards given over to the flames.^(*) The body of William Tracy was dug up and burnt, because in making his will he had consigned his soul to Christ without mentioning the saints or purgatory. Harding, Hewett, and Frith were subsequently

(*) There are some interesting particulars recorded of a visit paid by Latimer to Bainham, the night before the execution, his anxiety about his wife, and Latimer's consolation. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* v. 372

¹ Words. ii. 223.

² Fuller, 192, § 12.

³ Ibid 203, &c

⁴ See § 166.

also burnt Frith was a young man of considerable note, who, from his character for learning and piety, was removed from Cambridge to the cardinal's college in Oxford. He wrote a book against the corporal presence, which was answered by Sir Thomas More, and while in confinement, and without books, he replied to his opponent. He had, moreover, impugned the doctrine of purgatory, against which the attacks had of late become frequent, for it is obvious that they who controverted the papal supremacy must either be prepared to destroy this appalling weapon of superstition, or have been contented to find themselves deserted by the mass of society, who would hardly bear patiently the thunders of the Vatican while they were labouring under the dread of those penal fires from which the pope could free them.

§ 171 ¹ In the *Supplication of the Beggars* (a), a witty production by Simon Fish, of Gray's Inn, the source of the Roman superstitions is stated to be the belief in purgatory, and the remedy which the author recommends is not the enactment of new laws, but the disclosing of the hypocrisy of its votaries. The church, he argues, has been able by power or policy to obviate the effects of all laws, but that, by going to the root of the error, the evil might be easily eradicated. The other attacks are directed against the obvious vices of the clergy, which are very fully described. This work, by some accident, found its way into the hands of the king himself, but the wit which it contained saved the author from any harm. Another work, of nearly the same date, but which is a very superior production, is denominated the *Practice of Prelates* (b). In it the tyranny of the clergy is strongly painted. They are described as possessing in all their establishments gaols, and instruments of torture. He who was once within their keeping was never allowed to escape, lest he should convey to the world unseasonable reports of what he had there seen. The papal supremacy is attacked on the same grounds of Scripture as would now be employed, and with much perspicuity, the existence of purgatory is denied. It is stated, that in the universities they were not permitted to study the word of God till their minds had been perverted with some years' previous study, with which they were 'clere shutt out of the understandinge of Scripture;' that auricular confession was made the tool of political intrigue; and that Wolsey used Longland as a spy and instrument about the king. The reasoning is generally correct and sound, though there are some points in which we

(a) This work is printed at length in Fox 1530, edited by Fox in *Tyndale's Works*, fol 1573, reprinted in the

(b) *The Practice of Papistical Prelates* made by William Tyndale, *Works of the Reformers*

¹ Fox, ii. 229, &c Burnet, 1

should hardly now agree with the writer; but the spirit of the book is excellent, and the address, towards the end of the preface, to the true servants of Christ, not to resist, but to endure persecution, is quite apostolical.

§ 172 Such writings, when viewed in combination with the condition of public affairs, prove that the seeds of the Reformation were now securely sown. But there was still the utmost need of the fostering hand of God, to secure what he had planted against the rude assaults of superstition, and the vices incident to human nature. The papal supremacy was indeed suppressed, so that men might safely exercise their powers of reasoning, in disproving the grounds on which that authority was built. But the supremacy of Henry was little better, in point of freedom of discussion, for he by no means allowed to others that liberty of seeking the truth, which circumstances had induced him personally to adopt, but these great events, by exciting an universal sensation, had taught the people to reason for themselves, and to ground their own belief on the dictates of holy writ ^(a), and the discussions arising from the attacks of their enemies made it necessary for the church of Rome to argue, as well as to punish, and in this species of encounter the superior abilities of even Sir Thomas More could not conceal the weakness of the cause.

§ 173 Many of the remedies, too, to which the friends of the established religion had recourse, convinced men that their spiritual guides were not the ministers of good-will and peace, and the very necessity of rigorous persecution, while it proves the unsoundness of the cause, has always the tendency of more widely diffusing the tenets against which it is directed. How, moreover, can the world imagine that the doctrines of Christ form the belief of men who were ever anxious to destroy copies of the Scriptures? A very ludicrous instance of the inutility of such attempts is related of Tonsal, bishop of London, who, when in Flanders, took some pains to procure for the flames as many of Tyndale's New Testaments as he could. Tyndale was aware of some errors in the first edition, and gladly therefore allowed the bishop to purchase all the copies which were left, for the purpose of finding the necessary means for publishing a second, and more correct one. These, which were thus bought, were carried into England, and burnt in Cheapside, and when Constantine, who had assisted Tyndale, had brought over a large supply of the new edition, he was seized and

(a) It was an observation of Robert Whitgift, abbot of the black canons, at Wellow, near Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, and uncle to the archbishop, that they and their religion could never continue, for that he

had read the whole Scriptures over and over, but could never find therein that their religion was founded by God. Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* iv. 318. *Whitgift's Life*, by Sir G. Paule.

examined before Sir Thomas More, who was particularly eager to discover those who had enabled them to undertake so expensive a work, and promised to show kindness in case this information were readily communicated. The discovery that Tonsal had most effectually befriended the publication naturally excited a great laugh.

§ 174 In reviewing the Reformation at this point of its history, the English Protestant cannot withhold the attribute of thanksgiving to the Author of all good, from whom this deliverance sprung, nor fail to remark its progress, so contrary to the expectations of human foresight. He will observe, that the chief mover of the Reformation, in this country, was a king brought up with a high respect and admiration for those doctrines which were combated by the reformers, who had personally embarked in their defence, and acquired the title of Defender of the Faith, which,¹ if the vicar of Croydon may be believed, he valued more than London, and twenty miles about it, and who retained his predilection for most of his opinions even to the end of his life: that one of the greatest patrons of literature from which the Reformation gained very important assistance, by enabling men to examine the basis on which the papal fabric was constructed, with his dying breath urged the king to beware of, and to reduce the Lutherans;² and that he again, who by his writings and severe activity fanned the flame of discussion which ultimately convinced the nation, laid down his life an honoured victim to that cause, which he had greatly, though unwillingly, contributed to overthrow: that the character of the pope, who by his intemperate and illegal haste in pronouncing the decision had made the breach incurable, was marked by caution rather than heat, so that he had before been particularly careful to avoid coming to extremities, and that the separation ultimately took place in consequence of the accidental delay of a messenger who can observe all this, and not acknowledge the shortsighted policy of earthly designs and prospects, and if he rejoice in the Reformation which these events produced, can fail to thank that Almighty Power which setteth at nought the wisdom and prudence of man, and governeth the world according to those laws which most surely promote the interest of his creatures!

¹ *Practyce of Prelates*, fol K 4 *Strype's Mem.* i 62

² *Can. Wolsey*, 543.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DIVORCE OF HENRY VIII TO THE END OF
HIS REIGN, 1534—1547

201. The commencement of the church of England, the authority of it vested in the crown, ecclesiastical commission 202 Visitation of monasteries, causes of the dissolution of them 203 Death of Anne Boleyn. 204 Bill of succession 205 Convocation Parties 206 First Document of the church of England 207 Proclamation for Reformation 208 Henry summoned to Mantua by the Pope 209 Pilgrimage of grace 210 Reduced 211 Dissolution of monasteries 212. Surrenders of monasteries 213 The Institution published 214 The sacramentaries persecuted 215 John Lambert tried and burnt 216 Proclamation against the marriage of priests 217 Law of the Six Articles 218. Acts of parliament. 219 Anne of Cleves, Cromwell's fall 220. His character. 221. Divorce, and marriage with Catharine Howard, persecutions. 222 Execution of Catharine Howard. 223 Bonner's injunctions, acts of parliament 224. Persecution at Windsor, English litany 225 Anne Askew burnt. 226 Cranmer and the queen in danger. 227 Cruelty of Henry 228 His character 229. Points gained in the Reformation 230 Evils still requiring reform. 231 Effect of the Reformation in Germany very small. 232 Intercourse between Henry and the German reformers.

§ 201. THE existence of the church of England as a distinct body, and her final separation from Rome (*), may be dated from the period of the divorce. In the remaining part of this reign we shall

(*) The act which immediately caused the separation was the bull of Paul III. published in 1538 (Burnet, p 1 b in *Rec* No 9), but the authority of the pope in England had been before done away with by the act (25 Henry VIII c. 20), which forbade the procuring bulls or breves from Rome, or the payment of first-fruits or tenths (See § 103, and b) These payments had gradually grown up with the encroachments of the papal see (See Lingard, iv 198) The origin of first-fruits has been referred to the presents which were made at consecration or ordination, and which, as they were regulated by the value of the benefice, insensibly grew to be rated at one year's income On this supposition they would have been paid by the inferior clergy of the diocese to the bishop, and by the bishop himself to the pope which seems generally to have been the case. In England, Pandulph, when bishop of Norwich (1222—1226), is said to have exacted, or to have obtained through the pope, this tax from his clergy, on the plea of the encumbrances with which he found himself burthened The amount of the sums paid for first-fruits was often uncertain Tenths were a tenth part of the yearly value of all benefices exacted by the pope from the clergy, a tithe of the tithe, in imitation of the same proportion paid by the Levites to the high priest. These were in England sanctioned by law (20 Edw I.), when Pope Nicholas IV granted them for six years to Edward I., under the pretence of his

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trace her progress towards her present matured state, and observe the numerous difficulties which she encountered on the way

In looking back at the events recorded in the last chapter, it is impossible to suppose that the steps towards reformation should have been acceptable to the great mass of the clergy, whose privileges were directly attacked, and the opposition of some of them, and secret practices of others, irritated Henry to exercise a severity which nothing can excuse. The bishops and universities readily took the oath of the king's supremacy (1535), which met with little resistance, except from the Franciscan friars^(b). It was this refusal, or the discovery of the secret proceedings of the monks, which produced the general visitation of monasteries, for the carrying on of which, as well as of other reforms, Cromwell was created first vicar-general, and afterwards lord-vicegerent. One of the first points which fell under the cognizance of this newly-created power, was with regard to the authority from which the bishops derived their right of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Roman church esteemed this as communicated from Christ through his vicar the pope, an idea which must give the bishops of Rome an influence over all the countries in Christendom, for which there is not the slightest foundation in Scripture, and Henry, therefore, wishing to put an end to this error, now suspended all the bishops from the use of their episcopal authority, during the visitation which he purposed to institute and after a time the power of exercising it was restored by a commission to the following effect, which was granted to each of them on their petitioning for it 'Since all authority, civil and ecclesiastical, flows from the crown, and since Cromwell, to whom the ecclesiastical part has been committed, is so occupied that he cannot fully

undertaking a crusade, but they had been long before paid, and indeed granted by Innocent IV to Henry III, in 1253, for three years. The sums so due had been levied first by a valuation made in 1254, under the direction of Walter, bishop of Norwich, and therefore called sometimes the Norwich Taxation, and sometimes Pope Innocent's *Valor*, but upon the fresh grant made to Edward I a new valuation took place (1288—1292), which is generally denominated Pope Nicholas's valuation, and is still used in estimating the value of livings in some colleges, a third valuation of a part of the province of York took place in 1318, in consequence of the invasion of the Scotch, entitled *Nova Taxatio*. By the 26th Henry VIII.

c 3, the first-fruits and tenths were both transferred to the crown, and a new valuation was made by commissions issued by the king under an act of parliament. It has been questioned whether from the words of this act the crown has a right to frame a new valuation (See § 756, a). The words are, 'that the chancellor for the time being shall have power to direct commissions' for making the valuation, but the meaning of the act itself does not appear to look forward to above one valuation. This is called the valuation of the *Liber Regis* or *King's Book*.

^(b) See an account of the cruel execution of several of these in *Styke's Mem.* i 302, &c.

exercise it, we commit to you the licence of ordaining, proving wills, and using other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, besides those things which are committed to you by God in holy Scripture; and we allow you to hold this authority during our pleasure, as you must answer to God and to us' It must be confessed that this commission seems rather to outstep the limits of that authority which God has committed to the civil magistrate (^c), but in this case there was no opposition raised on the part of the bishops, excepting by Gardiner,¹ and when the suspension was taken off, they continued to perform the usual duties of their office, for the visitation was really directed against the monasteries

§ 202 The king was probably influenced in this measure by the prospect of plundering these wealthy bodies, designing, perhaps, to have expended the money so raised in the construction of harbours, and the erection of new bishoprics, while Cranmer was equally eager for their dissolution, being fully aware that these establishments formed the great bulwarks of the church of Rome, and hoping that their property, turned into a new channel, would

(^c) The original documents may be seen in Collier, vol. ii *Rec* No 31, 41, and Burnet, vol. i. *Rec* iii. No 14, and vol. ii *Rec* No 2, Strype's *Cranmer*, 1050 The discussion is one of much difficulty The authority in question must have flowed either from the pope, the king, or the word of God, and as there is no direct injunction on the subject in the Scriptures, as the authority of the pope was laid aside, the bishop could claim his right of jurisdiction from the crown only. The difficulty, however, consists in confusing things in themselves distinct, the ministers of God's word must derive from him such authority as shall enable them to carry on a Christian church, independent of the civil magistrate, for there is no reason why such a body may not exist in a heathen country, but it does not necessarily follow that the same entire power must belong to them when the government shall have become Christian The right of ordination, for instance, must belong to the church independently of the civil power; but a Christian government may still assign limits to the exercise of it. It is no in-

fringement of the right of ordaining, to prevent a bishop from admitting candidates unless they possess certain qualifications The law cannot say that the person so ordained shall not be a priest, but that he shall not hold church preferment, and at the same time it may punish the bishop for breaking the law of the land The proving wills, &c, must belong to the civil magistrate alone, and a court of conscience, or ecclesiastical court, seems to be founded partly on the law of God, partly on that of man If all ecclesiastical power were confined to ecclesiastical matters, the difficulty would cease to exist But this can hardly be the case, the magistrate ought, perhaps, to govern the temporal concerns of the church entirely, but for his own convenience, and for the benefit of society, he has committed some portion of this power to churchmen, who exercise a mixed authority, derived from God, in part directly, in part through the civil magistrate. Much information on this subject may be found in the opinions delivered by the commissioners, 1540 See Burnet, *Hist. Ref* i. B iii. *Rec.* xxi. qu. 9, &c.

¹ Strype's *Mem* i. 331.

substantially advance the cause of learning and religion. The instructions¹ given to the commissioners directed them to examine into the statutes of the several religious houses, and the manner in which they were observed, to inquire into the lives of the members, to enjoin the observance of certain general rules; and to see the king's supremacy was duly admitted.

Great abominations seem to have been discovered in some societies, which, together with the prospect of avoiding a storm now ready to fall on their heads, induced several convents to resign their charters, and in the session of parliament at the beginning of the next year, an act was passed which dissolved all monasteries of which the annual income was under 200*l* (A. D. 1536)

It is possible that greater abuses might have prevailed in these less extensive establishments, and that such laxity was produced by the freedom which a small number of persons must enjoy, when placed under their own superintendence; but it was easy to perceive that this alienation was but a step to the total dissolution of the monastic orders, and that the same avarice which had swallowed up the weaker bodies was only restrained from destroying the stronger by the want of power. The whole number of monasteries which was included under this bill was much increased by the manner in which their estates were let, for from the system of fines (^a), the annual income was generally reduced far below the

(^a) When an estate is let in this manner, it is done by the following process. The property is sold for a certain number of years (at present, according to the laws regulating church property generally for twenty-one years), and the fine or purchase-money so paid belongs to the owner for the time being. But when seven years have elapsed, the purchaser of the property is allowed to renew his lease, or to re-purchase the property for seven fresh years, to be reckoned at the end of the fourteen years for which he is now possessed of it. This, by calculation, is worth from one and a quarter to one and a half year's income, and the original lessor, or the owner for the time being, is induced to grant such a fresh lease, from the immediate want of money, or from the uncertainty of his own life, since, if he were himself to die during the fourteen years, he would get nothing,

and the whole benefit would accrue to his successor. Thus an estate worth 100*l* per annum might originally have been sold for its then value, and when seven years were expired the lease might be renewed for 125*l* or 150*l*, making an average annual income of from 18*l* to 22*l*, instead of 100*l*. The same process takes place when the property is let on lives. The estate is then originally sold for so long a time as three particular persons, whose names are inserted in the lease, shall either of them live, and when one of these dies, the holder of the property pays a fine, to be allowed to renew the bargain, and to substitute some fresh life in lieu of the one deceased. In former times much of the property of the kingdom was held on this tenure; but in modern days most private landowners have allowed these leases to run out, and have relet their estates at annual rents,

¹ Burnet, *P. 1. Rec. B.* iii No. 1.

real value of their property. These foundations are said to have amounted to the number of 375,¹ and to have yielded an income of 30,000*l.* per annum, besides a large sum arising from plate and jewels; but the mass of this wealth was quickly dissipated. And notwithstanding the erection of a court for the express purpose of augmenting the king's revenue (^b), comparatively little advantage arose to the crown from these attacks on the property of the subject

§ 203. The cause of the Reformation² met with a serious blow in the death of Anne Boleyn, who had uniformly exerted her influence in its favour, and was probably very instrumental in promoting the translation of the Bible now going forward. She had undoubtedly been guilty of indiscretion in the intimacy which she had used towards some of her male attendants, but her real crime consisted in her no longer possessing the love of Henry, who had transferred his affections to Lady Jane Seymour; and one of the strongest arguments in favour of her innocence consists in the nature of the court before which she was arraigned, and of the charges which were separately brought against her. She was first condemned for adultery, and then divorced on account of a pre-contract of marriage, which proved her never to have been the wife of the king. The evidence of her guilt would not have admitted of being brought forward openly, and she was tried in secret, condemned, and executed in the Tower, May 19

Her marriage with the king was dissolved by a decision in the archbishop's court, and is said by Burnet to have been annulled in

but almost all the property of corporate bodies is still so leased. From which circumstance it is easy to see why the real income is much less than the nominal property. The original sale generally took place beyond the memory of man; and the bishop, the chapter, or the college, cannot afford to run the risk of the loss of the immediate fine, in the hopes of an advantage which their successors may probably reap, so that virtually most church property is mortgaged for fourteen years, in England, and in Ireland (from the custom of renewing every year, instead of every seven years), for twenty years. In most of such leases, however, there is also an annual rent reserved.—Thus, if an estate be worth 150*l.* per annum, the fine shall be set as if it were worth 100*l.* and the tenant be bound to pay

50*l.* annually for the support of the establishment. In estimating, therefore, the values of the property of these monasteries, the reserved rents may probably have alone entered into the calculation, and the fine have been overlooked, as not forming part of the income

(^b) The court of augmentations was established 27th Henry VIII. (Fuller, vi. 348), by act of parliament, consisting of a chancellor, and many other officers with high salaries, amounting to 7,249*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* They were appointed to survey and govern the property which fell into the hands of the crown, by the dissolution of monasteries; but as many of the estates were soon sold through the necessities of the king, the court was found to be unnecessarily expensive, was discontinued, and finally dissolved, 1^o Mariae, 1553.

¹ Fuller, vi. 312.

² Burnet, i.

consequence of a pre-contract between her and Lord Percy, which the queen acknowledged. The effect of this proceeding was to render the princess Elizabeth illegitimate, but it is supposed that Anne was induced to admit the existence of such a bar to the marriage, in hopes of conciliating the favour of the royal father towards her child, and it is probable, that her conduct in her last moments was influenced by the same views ^(a). Blame has been attached to Cranmer for his compliance in this instance, but upon the admission of the pre-contract, he had only to pronounce the sentence of the canon law, while the Reformation has been loaded with the obloquy attending the presumed guilt of its patrons; as if the cause must be bad which had been promoted by such unworthy instruments. For Henry, little can be said in excuse; yet he always treated Elizabeth with kindness; and Mary was now reconciled to him upon acknowledging the king's supremacy, renouncing the papal usurpations, and giving up all advantage which might personally arise to her from the jurisdiction of Rome.

§ 204 On the day after the execution of Anne, Henry married Jane, the daughter of Sir John Seymour, and in the parliament which met on the 8th of June, the act of succession passed, which, after conferring the inheritance of the crown on the children of the present marriage, left the king, in case there were none, at liberty to bestow the throne on whomsoever he pleased, either by letters patent or by his will. Nothing can more strongly mark the absolute sway which this monarch maintained over the parliament, than a power so vested in an individual, while the policy of the transaction equally demands our notice, for he kept both his daughters entirely dependent upon himself, and by enabling Mary to succeed to the kingdom, paved the way towards a reconciliation with the emperor, and through him with the court of Rome, if any future circumstances should dispose him to entertain the wish of doing so. It seems, indeed, that some overtures were about this time made by the pope, but two acts of parliament rendered the attempt perfectly nugatory; for the first subjected to a *præmunire* all emissaries of the papacy; the second destroyed all grants held under bulls, which were declared null and void, and

(a) Lingard, who wishes to establish the guilt of the queen, supposes that the previous criminal connexion of Henry with Mary, the eldest sister of Anne, formed the ground of the separation. No reason is assigned for the divorce in the original record of it; see Wilkins, *Con.* iii. 800, but the letter of the earl of Northumberland, May 13,

in which he denies the existence of any pre-contract, at least proves that there was an idea of proceeding against her on this ground, and so strengthens the account given by Burnet. See also Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, Wordsw. *Ecc. Biog.* i. 363, Lord Herbert's *Life*, p. 195, comp. hist.

With regard to ceremonies, it was ordered that images should be retained as examples to the people, but idolatry and the abuse of them was to be guarded against. Saints were to be honoured as examples of life and advancers of our prayers; and they were to be addressed with this view, but not worshipped. Many ceremonies, such as the use of holy-water, ashes, palms, &c, were to be retained as typical signs, and praying for the dead was enjoined, though the existence of purgatory is questioned. It should be observed, too, that no mention is here made of the other four sacraments, though the use of them is inculcated in several of the doctrinal works which were subsequently published during this reign. A royal proclamation was issued immediately after the publication of these articles, of which the following is an abstract

§ 207 Thomas Cromwell, lord-vicegerent, directs the clergy¹ to observe all the laws which have been made against the papal supremacy, and to instruct their flocks, at least four times in the year, that the king under God is the supreme head of the church. To explain to the people the articles concerning faith and ceremonies, which had been lately put forth, and to persuade their parishioners to observe the ordinance for abolishing many of the holidays during harvest. To discountenance superstition, and preach that obedience to God's commandments, and works of charity, were more acceptable than pilgrimages, and the worshipping of relics. They were to set up Bibles in Latin and English in their churches, and encourage the people to read them, to see that the children within their cures were brought up honestly and religiously, and to teach them the Lord's prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed, in the mother-tongue. Wherever the incumbent was non-resident, he was to appoint a proper curate, and all the clergy are directed to lead decent and sober lives. Non-residents, on preferments worth twenty pounds, are to give one-fortieth of their stipend to the poor of the parish. Incumbents of preferments worth a hundred pounds per annum are to keep a scholar at the university, and so on for every hundred pounds and in case of dilapidated buildings, one-fifth of the income was to be expended on repairs. We cannot help observing the sound sense and propriety of these injunctions.

§ 208. During the progress of the Reformation many appeals had been made to a general council, and Paul III., wishing to sanction his proceedings under the appearance of such an authority yet having no desire that it should be independent of the influence of the papal throne, assembled one at Mantua. Before this tribunal

¹ Burnet, *P 1 B in Rec.* No. 7 Corresponding injunctions were issued in 1538 (No 11, D^o) which contain an order for keeping parish registers.

already set forth; they were also directed to take care that the inferior clergy did the same, and were not to allow anyone within their dioceses to preach out of his own church, for whose honesty and judgment they could not answer

§ 210. The direction of the military operations was committed to the duke of Norfolk, who, when he joined the earl of Shrewsbury, found the rebels so strong and desperate, that it was necessary to adopt the greatest caution. They were under the command of a gentleman of the name of Aske, who was well calculated for his office, and numbered among their ranks the archbishop of York, and Lord Darcy, who having been made prisoners at the capture of Pomfret Castle, had taken the oath of the party, viz., that their object was to preserve the king from low-born and pernicious counsellors, and to re-establish true religion. The rebels had already taken Hull and York, and advanced as far as Doncaster; but their further progress was stopped by the prudence of the duke of Norfolk, who, after many delays and much intercourse, obtained for them a general pardon (A.D. 1537). Yet discontent soon manifested itself again, and breaking out in a fresh northern rebellion, it was easily put down by the forces still under the command of the duke of Norfolk and Lord Shrewsbury, and the chief offenders were executed, amongst which number were comprehended Lords Darcy and Hussey, Aske, many gentlemen of consideration, and six abbots¹

§ 211. The suspicion that this rebellion had owed its origin and support chiefly to the encouragement of the clergy, undoubtedly hastened the suppression of religious houses; but their general dissolution arose from other causes, and would probably have taken place had these events never occurred. In order to prepare the way for this fresh attack on church property, a new visitation was set on foot, and the disorders discovered in these establishments were thrown open to the world, for as the visitors were charged with receiving bribes^(a), they found it necessary to quiet unpleasant reports concerning their own ill conduct, by publishing such scandalous stories of the parties visited as fell within their observation.

The vicious lives and conversations of 'the religious,' as they were denominated,² were too notorious not to call forth the indignant

(a) There seem to be good grounds for this accusation. We have several offers of bribes to Cromwell himself when Latimer wrote to him to pray that the priory of Malvern might be spared, he offered five hundred marks for the king's favour, and two hun-

dred for that of the vicegerent (Strype's *Mem.* i. 399). So Sir Thomas Eliot offers him the first-fruits of such lands as should be granted (*Ibid.* 405). See also *Burnet*, vol. i. 224, fol. 8vo, 407.

¹ Fuller, 313.

² Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* i. ch. 35. Fuller, 316, &c.

as put forth by royal authority, was called *The King's Book*, and since the two together form the chief documents from which the authorized opinions of the church of England during this reign can be derived, it will be necessary to examine them in detail; and the subject will more conveniently be deferred till the end of the chapter ^(a) ¹

§ 214 Thus far everything seems to have favoured the Reformation; but a new line of policy, which was adopted by Gardiner and the other friends of popery, appears to have created an alteration in the sentiments of the king, and thus to have given a considerable advantage to the cause which they advocated. This party had generally exhibited great outward compliance with the opinions and wishes of Henry, and by enlisting his vanity on their side, they now worked the ruin of many of their opponents, and provoked him to exercise much cruelty towards them. Among the reformers generally, there was no point on which the minds of many were so little settled as concerning the nature of the 'presence,' by which our Saviour's body is said to be present in the elements. Henry, in his book against Luther, of which he was particularly proud, had maintained the doctrine of the 'corporal presence,' and all the public acts of the church of England had declared for the same opinion. The subject itself is one of extreme delicacy, and the political relations of the kingdom rendered additional caution necessary, for if any person had been persecuted for tenets which they held in common with the Lutherans, this circumstance might have subjected the king to the remonstrances and anger of the princes of Germany: but towards the sacramentaries ^(a) he was fettered by none of these scruples, and they might be attacked under the vain expectation of reducing all men to the same opinions in religion, or in order to vindicate the infallibility of that supremacy of which he deprived the pope, by assuming it as his own prerogative.

§ 215 (A.D. 1538). John Lambert ^(a), while chaplain to the English company at Antwerp, had, by his acquaintance with Frith

^(a) It may not be amiss to remark, that there were two books known by each of these names. A declaration against the papal supremacy in 1536, in consequence of Pole's book on *Ecclesiastical Union*, is called also the Bishops' Book, and one published in 1533, *De Differentia Regiæ et Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis*, the King's (Strype's *Chanmer*, 73, vol. 1.)

There is, too, considerable confusion about this book in Burnet,

who is generally ignorant concerning printed books, and makes a confusion between the *Institution* and *Erudition*.

^(a) The sacramentaries denied the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist (see § 313).

^(a) His real name was Nicholson: he adopted this for the sake of concealment, in consequence of having been before in trouble about religion (Strype's *Chanmer*, i. 92).

¹ See Appendix B.

was at this time living secretly with him, while it held out the prospect of a change in the law respecting the celibacy of the clergy, and Bishop Ponet, or whoever else was the author of the Defence of Priests' Marriage, assures us, that the king intended to grant this liberty, but was hindered by the advice of certain counsellors, who pretended that his sanction to such an innovation would occasion offence among the people

§ 217. It is not improbable that the unwillingness exhibited by the Protestant party,¹ to allow the king to dispose of all the church property, might have contributed to increase his inclination in favour of their opponents; for, in a committee of the parliament (a) which now sat (A D 1539), the parties were so balanced that neither side could hope to carry matters entirely according to their wishes, and, after eleven days' useless discussion, the duke of Norfolk, the great patron of the papal opinions, proposed for their consideration Six Articles, to the following effect —

1st ²That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ are present

2nd. That communion, in both kinds, is not necessary to salvation to all persons, by the law of God, but that both the flesh and blood of Christ are together in each of the kinds.

3rd That priests, after the order of priesthood, may not marry by the law of God.

4th That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God

5th That the use of private masses ought to be continued, which, as it is agreeable to God's law, so men receive great benefit thereby.

6th. That auricular confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church.

Cranmer argued against the admission of them with all the eloquence and force of which he was possessed, but the king himself publicly advocated their adoption, and spoke in their favour,³ so that the enemies of the Reformation were finally successful, and the law of the Six Articles passed. The penalties affixed by this bill were cruel and severe. He who wrote or spoke against the first of these articles was to be punished by being burnt; if he controverted any of the others, by perpetual imprisonment, but if the opposition were wilful, and he preached against them, he was

(a) In this parliament, writs were issued to the mitred abbots it met April 28th. Strype says (*Mem.* 1. 542) that the same questions were agitated in convocation, and decided in the same manner.

¹ Strype's *Cranmer*, i 103.

² Speed, 780, 31 Henry VIII c 4.

³ Strype's *Cranmer*, i 104.

liable to be condemned to death. The punishment affixed to the non-observance of religious chastity was, for the first offence, the loss of benefice, as well as goods and chattels, for the second, death. This clause was said to have been inserted by Cromwell, that the severity of the act might be felt by both parties.

§ 218. Another act passed for the suppression of all monasteries, and though, in this session, eighteen abbots were present in the house of lords, yet no protestation was recorded. The object of this bill was, in reality, to legalize the previous surrenders, and no additional steps were taken in consequence of it. This was followed by one for the erection of more bishoprics (*), and another, which gave to the king's proclamations, under certain limitations, the force of law.

It is extraordinary that the proceedings which followed the passing the act of the Six Articles affected Cranmer in a very trifling degree, though he had openly opposed them, and at the king's desire had written a treatise against them. Yet such was the love and confidence which Henry entertained towards the archbishop, that he would never even receive an accusation against him. The archbishop sent his wife into Germany privately, and continued in the performance of his ecclesiastical duties. He disliked several of the articles, and abhorred the severity of the act; but his opinions were not now diametrically contrary to the first article, and he complied. Latimer and Shaxton, on the other hand, esteemed it contradictory to the word of God, and conscientiously resigned their sees.

One point, however, was gained to the cause of the Reformation; a proclamation was issued for the printing of the Bible, which at the same time allowed the free use of it to individuals.

§ 219. The death of Jane Seymour had left the king a widower in October 14, 1537, and though the birth of Edward had provided him with an heir to the crown, it was not probable that a man of his temperament should remain long in this solitary condition. He had heard much of the beauty of Anne of Cleves, and Cromwell was well pleased to promote a match which was so likely to prove beneficial to the cause of the Reformation. When the king and the minister were both in favour of the marriage, it is natural that advantageous reports concerning everything connected with it should predominate, and that the charms of a future queen should be described in favourable colours. The disappointment, therefore, of Henry was the greater, when he beheld his destined bride, and

(*) N.B. Westminster was erected, 1540, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, 1541, Bristol in 1542. Henry had many plans for erecting

more (*Mem.* in. No. 106). One scheme is given in Strype, wherein the number amounts to twenty

as the chief patron of that party. Add to which, that those Protestants, who had previously shared the favour of this variable monarch, were now in too much danger for themselves to come forward in the defence of others, so that the attainder of Barnes for heresy passed without any opposition, and he was burnt in Smithfield, without even knowing the grounds on which he was condemned. He had indeed preached at St Paul's Cross against Gardiner, but this offence had apparently been forgiven; and Barnes, as well as Jerome and Gerard, who suffered with him, had, after a conference with the king, renounced errors which they probably never entertained. But this could not save them, the spirit of persecution was now let loose, and its effects were felt by many of the advocates of the Gospel.

It is the observation of Lord Herbert,¹ that 'these punishments did but advance their religion;' and 'it was thought they had some assistance from above, it being impossible, otherwise, that they should so rejoice in the midst of their torments, and triumph over the most cruel death.' The cruelty of the king, however, was not confined to the reformers, on the same day an equal number of Roman Catholics were executed for denying the supremacy.

§ 222. (A D 1541.) No one had now any very material influence over the mind of Henry, and the cause of the Reformation met with different success, according to accidental circumstances, and the changing opinions of the king. In May the Bible was printed, and ordered to be set up in all churches. This was not in itself any very important step, for the same injunction had been before made, but every proclamation of this sort increased the facility of access to the word of God, and wherever the Bible is in the hands of the mass of the people, their teachers cannot long impose on them the doctrines of men instead of the commandments of God.

(A D. 1542) The discovery of the former ill life of the queen led to the attainder of herself and her accomplices, and an enactment was made (*), not more remarkable for its severity than folly; as if laws could provide for female chastity, while the conduct of the other sex tended to overthrow the bulwarks of the sacred institution of marriage.

An attempt was made in convocation to suppress the English Bible, against which great objections were raised, on the grounds

(*) It was enacted, that if the king were about to marry a woman whom he esteemed a maid, and she, not being so, did not reveal it, that she should be adjudged guilty of treason, and that any other persons who were conscious of the same, and concealed it, should be esteemed guilty of misprision of treason.

¹ *Life of King Henry*, p 226.

of its incorrectness; and Gardiner presented a list of words which did not admit of translation ^(b) But Cranmer, knowing that the correction of inaccuracies would proceed but slowly in the hands of those who were adverse to the general distribution of any translation at all, used his influence with the king, and, to the great displeasure of the clergy, the examination of the Bible was referred to the universities

§ 223 In the injunctions which were now set forth by Bonner, for the diocese of London,¹ and which probably correspond with those of other bishops of the same period, there are many good directions given to the clergy, with respect to their own lives and the performance of the pastoral duties, and they are particularly forbidden to allow anyone to preach in their cures, who had not been licensed by the bishop or the king ² The evil which might thus have arisen to their flocks from the want of preachers was obviated, as far as possible, by a set of homilies now published, a useful step in a period of so much irritation, and calculated to calm the angry passions, which so greatly injured the cause of true religion ^(a). During these troublous times such of the clergy as were licensed to preach were so frequently attacked on account of their expressions, that many adopted the custom of writing their sermons, which has since generally prevailed.

(A.D. 1543) An act was passed during the early part of this year, of a very mixed and heterogeneous character, which is said by Burnet ^(b) ³ to have been framed by Cranmer, and yet had a tendency to suppress the use of the Bible. It contains internal evidence of the conflicting interests and divided power which belonged to the two parties in the kingdom, and strongly marks the distracted state of religion at this period. It favoured the Protestant, by ordaining that spiritual persons should not be burnt for heresy till after the third conviction, that lay persons should in that case be subjected only to the loss of their goods and chattels, and to perpetual imprisonment; and that all parties,

^(b) They consist of about one hundred, of which the great mass are perfectly capable of being translated without any loss of meaning. In some few cases, the original words are retained in our present translation; as Tetrarch, Synagogue, Gentile, Pagan, Parable, &c See Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* p. 238, Lewis, 145, &c.

^(a) Of these there is an imperfect copy in the Bodleian, the title is,

'The Epistles and Gospels, with a brief postel upon the same,' &c It is recognised by Richard Taverer, and printed, *cum privilegio*, by Richard Bankes. The copy in Lord Spencer's library has the date of 1540, but the title appears not to be exactly the same.

^(b) It should, however, be observed, that Burnet is, with regard to this act, more than ordinarily inaccurate.

¹ Burnet, *P 1 B in Coll.* No 26

² Burnet, i 317, fol 575, 8vo

³ Burnet, i 321, fol. 583, 8vo. Lewis, 148

when accused, should possess the privilege of vindicating themselves by witnesses. On the other hand, Tyndale's translation of the Old and New Testament¹ was prohibited, and as there was no Bible printed which did not contain some part of this version, it was almost impossible for anyone to be free from danger, if he possessed a printed copy of the Scriptures. At the same time the free use of the Bible itself was confined to persons of a certain rank, while others were restricted to the Primer, and such other books as had been or should be set forth by his majesty since 1540. Two provisos, however, did in reality confer on the king the power of doing what he pleased, for the act of the Six Articles was declared to be still in force, and the king was permitted to alter any part of this act. Subsequent events soon proved how insufficient these enactments were, as a safeguard against the bigotry of the bishops and the religious tyranny of the throne.

This was followed by another more important step,² the revision and republication of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which now appeared under the title of the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man*, and was denominated the King's (c) Book, as being put forth by royal authority.

§ 224 Catharine Parr, whom the king married in July, was a secret friend of the new doctrine, but her influence was not sufficient to guard some unfortunate men against a persecution which took place at Windsor,³ where there existed a small society of favourers of the Reformation. Four of them were brought before a jury, composed of tenants of the church, and being convicted of heresy, on frivolous pretences, three of them were burnt. In consequence of some evidence which transpired at this trial, a plot was formed against certain members of the royal household; but the framers of it were convicted of perjury, and suffered for that crime. These accusations did not end here; for Cranmer himself was secretly attacked,⁴ and Henry, who bore him a sincere love, suffered the project to be carried so far as to discover the authors of this accusation against the archbishop. and they were many of them persons to whom his grace had shown much kindness, yet he took no further notice of their ingratitude, than to require of them repentance, and a confession of their fault,⁵ for no one was ever better acquainted with the precepts or practice of forgiving injuries than Cranmer.

(A.D. 1544) Before the expedition against France in which

(c) See Appendix B § 271, &c

¹ Lewis, 148.

² Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* 1. 284

³ Fox, ii. 468.

⁴ Strype's *Cranmer*, 1 c. xxvi.

⁵ Strype, 174.

many of whom she was acquainted, so that Chancellor Wriothesley, who was a vehement persecutor of the reformers, hoped to have obtained some information from her with reference to this point, but having endured the rack,¹ which the chancellor is said to have inflicted on her himself, she confessed nothing, and suffered with three others under the act of the Six Articles.

§ 226. On this occasion, too, the same attack was directed against Cranmer,² and Henry, to try how far the malice of his enemies would go, allowed him to be summoned before the council, having beforehand provided him with his own signet, in order that he might appeal to the royal judgment. When he was about to be brought before this prejudiced tribunal, he was treated with so much disrespect, that though a member of the council which was to examine him, he was suffered to remain some time standing in the lobby among the footmen and messengers. For this disgraceful piece of neglect, Henry very severely rebuked his council, and strongly testified the affection which he bore towards his most faithful servant. The queen also was in very imminent peril from a conspiracy formed against her, her prudence, and a fortunate discovery with respect to this plot, enabled her to preserve herself. Gardiner had spoken to her prejudice, in consequence of her frequently disputing on religious topics with the king, and when he had excited the suspicions of his majesty, Henry agreed that she should be apprehended and examined, which were but other names under which total ruin was concealed. By the carelessness of the chancellor, the queen became possessed of a paper containing an account of these projected steps. She soon after introduced the subject of divinity, while in conversation with her husband; and when he hinted at her having opinions of her own, she parried the blow, and said, that if in conversation she had assumed more upon herself than became her sex and station, it was but to entice him to a subject on which she obtained so much information.

§ 227. The execution of the earl of Surrey (Jan 19, 1547) may be considered as the last act of this reign, for though the attainder of the duke of Norfolk was subsequent, yet the death of the king (Jan 27) himself, prevented the execution of the sentence. It was remarkable at once for cruelty and injustice, and affords another instance of the danger of admitting a trial, where the parties are not suffered to confront the witnesses who are brought against them. This evil example was set in the case of those who were attainted with the marchioness of Exeter and countess of Salisbury; in which case Cromwell consulted the judges, who

¹ Fox, ii 488.

² N.B. Strype, xxviii. places this two years earlier. See § 224.

answered, That it was a dangerous question, that the parliament, which should be an example to other courts, ought carefully to observe the strictest justice ; but that as it was itself supreme, whatever it decided must be the law · the precedent was followed in many other cases, and Cromwell himself fell by it. The number of persons who were executed in this reign was very considerable ^(a), for independent of those who fell in the cause of religion, the king himself was sanguinary towards those who were about him ; and excepting in the case of Cranmer, he seems to have instantly forgotten the services of men on whom he had bestowed his confidence, and no sooner did they become the objects of suspicion than they experienced the selfish severity of their master. He appears indeed to have been sensible of the merits of his ministers, and few kings have been more fortunate in this particular ; but the good opinion which he entertained of them was no security against a change in his affections, and this was generally followed by persecution from their political opponents, and ended in a tragical fall.

§ 228. Henry possessed considerable natural abilities, and these had been improved by study, so that in point of understanding, few monarchs seem to have been better calculated for the performance of an important part, the sentiments of his heart appear to have been originally noble and generous, yet all these qualities were destroyed, or rendered pernicious, by the want of self-restraint of which he was the victim. Possessed of power at an early age, and unfettered by any constitutional restrictions, he soon found that his own will was law ; and where this point was or might be questioned, he bore down all semblance of opposition by the severity of his measures ^(a). Wolsey was the early minister of his pleasures, as well as the guide of his political conduct ; and the secret by which he ruled his self-willed pupil was by making him unable to govern himself. The flattery of applauding churchmen prevented him from being contented with the character of a learned theologian, to which he had much claim, and transformed him into a bigoted dogmatist. And yet to the last he possessed great liberality

(^a) And for testimonies in this kind, some urge two queens, one cardinal (*in procinctu* at least), or two (for Pole was condemned though absent), dukes, marquises, earls, and earls' sons, twelve, barons, and knights, eighteen, abbots, priors, monks, and priests, seventy-seven, of the more common sort, between one religion and another, huge multitudes (Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII* 267) The countess

of Salisbury was mother to Cardinal Pole, and her execution, two years after her attainder, has left an indelible stain on the character of Henry

(^a) If it be asked how Henry became possessed of power to do this, it must be remembered that the crown and the church had destroyed the power of the aristocracy, so that when the church was humbled, the king stood alone.

of sentiment, where he was not irritated by having his vanity offended; but whenever he was contradicted in matters of religion, or when his own desires were thwarted, he became ungovernable and cruel on such occasions he overruled justice, and proved himself a capricious tyrant, in spite of all the estimable qualities with which nature had bountifully supplied him. But even his very vices were by the providence of God made the instruments of beneficial results his desire to divorce Catharine destroyed the papal power in England his tyranny, and the influence which he exercised over his subjects, enabled him to dissolve the monastic establishments, a power which must have impeded every step towards reformation, had they been continued in existence; and with regard to their destruction, if he had been troubled with a very scrupulous conscience, he would never have resorted to the means by which he accomplished this stupendous work Had all the property thus taken from the patrimony of the church been vested in the crown, it would have rendered it independent of parliamentary grants, and have furnished the means of continuing a tyranny, as injurious perhaps to the country as that of a foreign power, balanced by the royal authority, but the profusion of the king, and the rapacity of his court, entirely freed the country from any danger on this head, and ultimately threw the wealth, which their forefathers had so grossly misapplied, into the hands of individuals, who are the safest guardians of the public property

§ 229 It may be convenient, in this part of the history, to mark the points which had been gained in the Reformation, as well as to enumerate such particulars as still wanted alteration.

The power of the papacy in England was for the time annihilated, not merely by legislative enactments—for acts of parliament had always proved inadequate to curb an authority which set law at defiance—not merely by taking away the wealth of the supporters of so monstrous a scheme of oppression, but by breaking the charm which had given energy to the whole, by weakening the force on which this machine depended for its motion. The superstitions of the church of Rome had been attacked in their very origin, and many of the more gross of her idolatries had been put down by the civil power, but the method which had been most successfully adopted was that of allowing the people to think and judge for themselves. The Bible and the three Creeds had been granted to the people, and they were directed to read the word of God, and to learn from it their duty towards Him and their neighbour The wealth of the monastic orders was taken from the former possessors most unjustly, but they were legitimately deprived of the real source of their riches, when the notion of

purgatory was discountenanced, and when in the instructions delivered to the people no mention was made of this doctrine, from whence the influence of the church of Rome is derived. The translation of the Bible was authorized by the government; copies of it were distributed throughout the kingdom, and the Litany was published in the mother tongue. The people had now, then, the means of instruction; and to the rising generation these blessings were insured by the injunction that the children in every parish should be instructed in the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Belief, and that these elementary subjects should be fully explained to them by their spiritual guides

§ 230. But the act of the Six Articles was still in force. Still was it a capital offence to deny the corporal presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper the cup was still denied to the laity; and unnecessary and compulsory restraint was imposed on the marriage of the clergy, and those who had taken vows of chastity were still obliged by law to continue in their single state. To this, perhaps, as individuals, they had no right to object, but to the body politic, a forced celibacy is apt to become a state of real licentiousness^(a). The use of private masses was continued, the necessity of auricular confession was still sanctioned, and the Latin language still used in the mass. The power of the ecclesiastical courts was still continued, and the nature of such tribunals was most oppressive to the subject. It was not that they armed themselves against vice and immorality, or were formidable to the evil doer, but their processes were so indefinite, that no one could esteem himself secure against the sentence of such a court: and those churchmen who possessed any authority under these jurisdictions were enabled to exercise oppression to an unlimited amount, since they could enforce by civil penalties the spiritual decisions of the church. Confession put the clergy in possession of the secrets of society, and continued an influence, injurious even if exercised on Christian principles, which makes one man the keeper, and not the adviser of another's conscience, which deprives the laity of that sense of personal responsibility to God which a future judgment will require; which makes the priesthood, in their desire to guide the actions of their flock, convert religion into an *opus operatum*, and change Christianity into a system in which the unimportant devices

(^a) As a confirmation of this assertion, the reader may not be displeased at seeing an answer of Mr T. Lawney to the duke of Norfolk, upon the passing of the act of the Six Articles 'O, my Lawney (said his grace to his old chaplain, knowing him of old much to favour

priests' matrimony), whether may priests now have wives or no?—If it please your grace (replied he), I cannot well tell whether priests may have wives or no. but well I wot, and am sure of it, for all your act, that wives will have priests' (Strype's *Cranmer*, c viii. p. 49).

of men are more regarded than the love and the fear of God, that love which gives obedience its charm, and renders our imperfect performances acceptable at the throne of grace

§ 231 If it be asked what effect the Reformation in Germany had on that in England, and why so little notice has been taken of the events which were passing there, it must be answered in excuse, that the limits of the work necessarily confine our researches to those topics which affected our own church, and that the history of the foreign churches scarcely comes under this denomination during the reign of Henry VIII. If we except that secret influence which the alterations in religion, which then took place, must have had on the minds of any people, who were at all connected with them, these foreign changes probably little retarded or advanced the corresponding steps, with the details of which we have been engaged. The dispute between Henry and Luther had alienated the good-will of the monarch from those proceedings, which he himself was about so soon to imitate, and the opinions concerning the divorce expressed by many of the German divines (viz, that though the marriage were unlawful, they did not approve of the divorce), had not tended to conciliate him. Yet when he was embarked in an opposition to the authority and power of Rome, the common interest of both parties naturally disposed each of them to connect themselves with the other.

§ 232 After the publication of the confession of Augsburg in 1530,¹ the Protestant princes assembled at Smalcalde wrote in 1531 to the kings of France and England,² with the view of obviating the ill effects which false reports, concerning what had been done in Germany, might have produced in the good opinions of those sovereigns. Henry sent them a very civil and characteristic answer, in which he acknowledges the necessity of some reformation, expresses his anxiety for it, and his wish that a general council might be assembled, but points out the danger of admitting such violent remedies as some levellers had desired to introduce.

In 1535, Fox, Heath, and Baines were sent ambassadors to Smalcalde,³ where proposals were made to them by the Protestant princes, that the king should approve the confession of Augsburg, and become the patron or defender of a league established for its support, that they should endeavour to promote the calling of a council, which might be really free, and there advocate their doctrines; that they should oppose the authority of the pope, should engage in certain conditions of mutual defence, and when matters were more advanced, should send a learned embassy to England. Henry agreed to most of these terms (1536), but was

¹ See it in the *Sylloge Confessionum*

² Strype's *Mem.* 1. 348.

³ Sleidan, 145.

probably rather disposed to receive an embassy of divines, in order that they might alter their own confessions according to his advice, than inclined to model his own faith in unison with their decisions. He was, however, particularly anxious that Melancthon might visit him in England

In March, 1538, the Protestants met at Brunswick,¹ and Henry sent C Mount there, to learn their object in meeting, and to discover whether they were likely to send the embassy and Melancthon. They on their part wished to learn his objections to the Augsburg confession, but gave a commission to their agents now sent to discuss these topics with the English divines Burgrat and his colleagues had much communication on the subject, and probably agreed better with Cromwell and Cramer, than with the sentiments of the king himself. The discussion was ended by a letter² addressed by them to Henry, in which they object to three points—the denial of the cup to the laity—the continuance of private masses—and the celibacy of the clergy. An answer was sent them in the name of the king, drawn up by Tonstal, bishop of Durham, who defends each of these particulars. Melancthon wrote to Henry early the next year in remonstrance, and the German orators were again sent to renew the conference³ (1539), but the act of the Six Articles was passed soon after, and subsequently no real progress was made in the Reformation during the reign. Whatever effect, therefore, might be produced by this connexion, in the next reign, we can hardly trace any benefit arising from it in the present.

¹ Lord Herbert's *Life*, 213

² Strype's *Mem* i 526.

³ Burnet, i Addenda, No vii

DATES RELATIVE TO THE DISSOLUTION OF MONASTERIES

- 1535 The visitation of monasteries began in October —Burnet, 184, fol.
Nov 13 The first resignations are dated this day.—Burnet, Rec in No 3
- 1536 Before April 14, the act for the dissolution of the smaller monasteries passed.—Burnet, 194, fol
- 1537 A new visitation of monasteries —Burnet, 235, fol
- 1539 An act legalizing the dissolution of monasteries, and granting them to the king —Burnet, 260, fol
- 1540 *April* 22. The knights of St John of Jerusalem suppressed —Burnet, 275, fol
1545. Colleges and chantries given to the king The universities are confirmed —Burnet, 338, fol

APPENDIX A TO CHAPTER V

ON THE DISSOLUTION OF MONASTERIES.

241. Questions to be discussed 242 Monasteries, originally beneficial to society 243 Benefits of sanctuary 244 Monasteries practically beneficial 245 Architecture Books Trades 246 Monasteries, by degrees, become less useful 247 Are favoured by the people The effect of celibacy with respect to them 248 Monasteries overturned by Henry's incapacity Plans for employing this wealth. 249 Education for diplomacy 250 Improvements 251 General education 252 Property more valuable by distribution 253 Evils felt at the dissolution of monasteries 254 The transfer of property ultimately produced good 255 Much evil was produced at the time 256 Libraries were destroyed 257 Labourers unemployed 258 Amount and effects of this transfer of property 259 The ultimate result, beneficial Benefits of a church establishment

§ 241. THE dissolution of the monastic establishments in this country forms so striking a feature in the reformation of the church, that the subject seems to claim a more full and distinct discussion than has been already given to it

The whole question, perhaps, belongs to the civil, rather than the ecclesiastical historian, as affecting in a greater degree the temporal, than the spiritual concerns of the country, but in our happy constitution the interests of the church and the state are so vitally blended, that any event which considerably affects the one cannot fail to be of great importance to the other.

In this case, it is indeed possible that the monasteries might have been retained, and the original objects of the foundations have been complied with, under such modifications as were admitted into our colleges, the Reformation might, on this supposition, have proceeded as it did, and the same preponderance of property have been retained in the hands of ecclesiastical persons, without preventing those changes which took place in the doctrine and discipline of the church But it may be useful to inquire what portion of these alterations is in any way due to the transfer of property itself, and whether, without it, these changes would have taken place at all And again, whether, if the property had been retained in mortmain, and appropriated to other general purposes, the body politic would, or would not, have been benefited; in short, to see the effect which monasteries had on England,

and to trace the political alterations which their dissolution has produced

§ 242. In reviewing the earlier periods of our history, we shall probably be compelled to admit the utility of monastic societies. While the country was a prey to barbarism, and the ravages of war were continually overturning every approach to security, the veneration paid to religious houses must have tended to soften and humanize the mind, as well as to form a barrier against the actual destruction of property.

Among the Saxons, the introduction of Christianity was accompanied by these establishments, which polished the rude institutions of the inhabitants of England, while the religion itself contributed more effectually to the same end, by working on the hearts of the individual converts. When, then, the Danes commenced their system of plunder, the monasteries, which had become numerous, formed the chief points against which their attacks were directed. Superstitious hatred might, it is true, have guided the invaders to the places dedicated to the worship of a God whom they despised, but the frequent recurrence of the same sacrilege arose, more probably, from avarice; and these pirates learnt, by experience, that the habitations of the monks contained the riches, as well as the religion, of the country, while the feeble efforts which were generally made in their defence promoted the recurrence of the same aggressions.

§ 243. The conversion of the Danes to Christianity restored, in some degree, the dilapidated monasteries, and re-established them in their ancient rights and privileges, a step which would hardly have been taken, unless the idea of utility had been connected with such foundations, for the very privileges, which afterwards became so injurious to society, were then of material advantage to it, and when the want of law and civilization armed the hand of every man against all who offended him, the reverence which was paid to the rights of sanctuary provided a powerful remedy against the violence of passion^(a). In all this we may trace a strong resemblance to the institutions of the early Greeks, among whom the same evils were guarded against, by provisions corresponding in many respects. The Conquest was so far from rendering these safeguards unnecessary, that the power of the clergy, particularly of the monastic orders, formed a most salutary check on the ferocious tyranny of the barons, and the terrors with which the church was armed by its property, as well as the influence of the

(a) By Alfred's laws, it appears that asylum was only afforded in the sanctuary for a time appointed by law, and varying, according to the circumstances, from three to more nights. See Johnson's *Canons*, A.D. 877, § 2, &c.

court of Rome, not only prevented acts of aggression, but proved a continual restraint on men who needed every check which might retain them within the bounds of civilized intercourse, and the humanities of life.

§ 244 Every lay fief, held upon the tenure of military service, was, in reality, a premium upon war. In invasion, it formed the prize towards which the soldier looked: in seasons of tranquillity, it provided the soil on which fresh troops might be raised, either for the defence of the kingdom or the extension of conquest. All ecclesiastical property, on the other hand, tended to promote the cultivation of peace: it was the price paid by the public to those who fostered the arts, and who possessed the only learning of which the nation could boast. The object for which such donations were made, was, it is true, superstitious, but their ordinary effects must have been, in some degree, beneficial, for mankind would otherwise have more quickly seen through the delusion on which such foundations rest, and would never have continued to promote establishments which not only employed a large portion of the wealth of the kingdom, but of which the practical tendency must have been daily brought before their eyes.

§ 245. English architecture may be said to owe its origin to ecclesiastical bodies, not only because they required extensive places of worship for their use, and were possessed of wealth adequate to their construction, but the designs and execution of the work itself were frequently furnished by the members of monastic fraternities. The whole of the book learning of the country was in their hands; and to this they added those arts which are connected with ornamenting MSS., artificial penmanship, and minute painting and gilding for illuminations. Their talents were also often directed to objects of more obvious and immediate use, for they frequently superintended certain species of manufactures within their walls, and converted the raw materials with which their lands furnished them into articles ready for the market. In all this, the sanctity which was attached to the religious body answered the great end of all political institutions, the security of property: and at a period when every other tenure was uncertain, religion, deformed as it was in many respects, provided a safeguard against violence, which enabled the monastic orders to cultivate the substantial good of the country.

§ 246. Society in the different stages through which it passes, requires changes of institutions corresponding with the advancement of civilization, or the progress of the arts. Chartered companies, for instance, may have enabled a number of persons to engage in trades, and to enter into speculations, to which individually they might have been unequal; but, when the commerce

has long been in existence, the regulations of such a company may become injurious to the further improvement of it. The same observations will apply, probably, to establishments calculated to foster civilization; and thus the prevalence of the monastic orders may have prevented those improvements in manufactures and moral habits, which their existence originally promoted. As the law became strong enough to protect the innocent, sanctuaries which had previously answered this purpose, furnished an asylum for the guilty only, and counteracted the force of legal authority, in aid of which they had been established. For a time, the arts flourished within such foundations, but the very nature of them precluded that healthful activity which constitutes the wealth of a nation, and can alone continue to diffuse throughout a country the advantages of real information. In these bodies, on the contrary, the road to honour and preferment was so confined by the prejudices of the ruling powers, that they contributed little to the dissemination of general knowledge. The countless multitudes who by the increasing superstition of the times were admitted into the religious orders became a burden to the state, inasmuch as their pursuits were directed to objects little beneficial to mankind. The number of teachers who can be employed to advantage must soon be limited by the population of a country, the services of religion are supplied by a comparatively small number of functionaries, and learning, if confined to the walls of a convent, and not brought forward by competition or applied to the purposes of general life, will soon degenerate into trifling and superficial pedantry, and be sought no further than as it may deceive the vulgar. In the very manufactures which were exercised under the superintendence of the monks, the accidental advantages which they possessed enabled them to create monopolies, and their power and influence in procuring a market stood in the way of that freedom of trade, which is the only sure basis of internal prosperity.

§ 247. These establishments, then, had in their origin been most useful to the nation, but as the alteration of circumstances made them less necessary, the influence of superstition produced a continued increase to their numbers, while their augmented power still added in an alarming degree to the extent of the evil. It was in vain to expect a remedy from new laws, for the effect of every enactment will invariably become paralyzed, whenever it acts against the immediate interests of the ruling part of society. The nobility could not be restrained from contributing to the support of foundations, where their children received their education, and where the younger branches of the family found a ready asylum, when the resources of the paternal estate were inadequate to their support. To the rest of the kingdom, the power of

the church formed as it were a barrier against the tyranny of the great; and the lands of monasteries were generally let on terms so advantageous, that the tenant found his duty and interest combined in the defence of his ecclesiastical lord. The policy of the church of Rome kept this enormous body as distinct as possible from the rest of the nation; and celibacy, by which this end was principally effected, though it exposed the clergy to various temptations, and lowered them in general esteem, could not fail to direct all their energies to the glory and augmentation of that society to which they belonged (*).

§ 248 The ostensible plea on which this property had been acquired, chiefly depended on a false idea of a state of purgatory, and if the majority of the clergy were sincere in such a belief (a point which we can hardly doubt), these innovations (*), which must have at once alarmed the consciences and the worldly interests of so large a number of persons, could hardly have been introduced without the application of much external force. It seems probable, then, that unless the rapacity of Henry and his courtiers had previously scattered the wealth, and thus destroyed

(*) The following Table will give some general idea of the number of religious houses founded in each reign. (Tanner's *Notitia*, p. viii.)

	Reigned Years	Monasteries Founded.	p a	Colleges in the Universities.
William I . . .	20	45	2,25	
William II . . .	13	29	2,41	
Henry I. . . .	35	143	4,08	
Stephen	18	146	8,11	
Henry II	34	163	4,79	
Richard I. . . .	9	52	5,77	
John	17	81	4,76	
Henry III. . . .	56	211	4,78	3
Edward I	34	107	3,01	1
Edward II	19	42	2,21	3
Edward III. . . .	50	74	1,48	5
Richard II	22	21	1,	1
Henry IV	13	12	0,92	
Henry V	9	4	0,44	
Henry VI.	38	33	0,86	5
Edward IV	22	15	0,68	1
Edward V				
Richard III. . . .	2			
Henry VII	23	few		2
Henry VIII. . . .	37			6
		<hr/>		<hr/>
		1,178		27

It may be observed, that the transfer of property from one religious purpose to another was not now introduced (Collier, i. 650). In 1414, all alien priories not conventual were dissolved by an act of parliament; many colleges owe much

of their wealth to this source, before the time of Wolsey (Tanner, *Notitia*, xxxii &c), whose liberality of foundation chiefly consisted in suppressing monasteries to found a college to his own honour.

much of the worldly power of the church, the Reformation would hardly have taken place at this time. It was avarice which led them to make this attack on the property; but in attempting to defend their conduct, they examined the grounds on which these foundations were laid, and soon found the instability of a building which had neither sound reason in its favour, nor the revealed word of God for its support. Had this step never taken place, we might still have been blessed with the Reformation; but it would probably have been delayed, or have been effected with a violence which might have swept away with it many of our most valuable institutions.

It was the wish of many of the reformers, that the wealth of the suppressed monasteries might have been applied to some useful endowments; and the scheme is in itself so plausible, that few can have thought much on the history of the Reformation, without having sketched out some ideal plan which might have employed a portion at least of these large revenues. What was done in this way, viz the erection of six bishoprics, and the foundation of fifteen chapters^(b), several hospitals, and the two colleges^(c) which are the glory of our sister universities, so strongly plead in favour of such an application, that to maintain a contrary hypothesis may seem to be an affectation of paradox, if indeed it be not chargeable with ingratitude in one who has passed the best years of his life within one of these establishments, and derived from that connection the means of performing the greater part of that little good which he has been able to do in his generation.

§ 249 Henry certainly intended to have supplied many of the wants of the nation from this fund; but through the facility with which he granted it away, he defeated his own designs^(a). Some of it was employed in the construction and improvement of harbours; but I have not been able to ascertain what portion of it was thus expended. It was the wish of Sir Nicholas Bacon,¹ that some provision should have been made for the education of youth, for the purposes of diplomacy, and that they should thus have been prepared for serving their country among foreign nations. But it

(b) Bristol, Canterbury, Carlisle, Chester, Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, Peterborough, Rochester, Westminster, Winchester, Windsor, Worcester, Wolverhampton; the annual value of these was rated at less than 6,000*l* (Speed).

(c) Trinity College, Cambridge, and Christ Church, Oxford.

(a) Henry, with all the wealth which passed through his hands, was so improvident, that before the end of his reign, he had recourse to that dishonest and most impolitic measure of debasing his coin (Camden's *Elizabeth*, p. 49).

¹ Burnet, i. 269.

may well be doubted whether liberal instruction on general principles be not the most useful preparation for every line of life, and whether the early direction to a peculiar branch of study has not the tendency of confining the views of the student. Be this as it may, the sum thus expended would have been small, and the difficulty of the question at issue depends on the extent of the wealth so to have been applied.

§ 250. There is, however, one point which every well-wisher to the church must deplore—I mean the continuance of those impropriations which had transferred much of the property of the secular clergy into the hands of the monastic orders. While the society so endowed furnished the parish with a spiritual pastor, there was some plea for the transfer of the income from the individual to the body of which he was the representative, but when the whole establishment was granted to a layman, the impropriation ought to have been restored to the person who had the cure of souls. The want of this arrangement, so obviously just, has been of infinite injury to the country, by rendering many pieces of preferment inadequate (*) to support a clergyman in that rank of life in which he has been placed by society. This evil is now very sensibly diminished by the liberality of the crown, and by grants from parliament, but its existence has been one cause of the prevalence of pluralities, while for a long time it contributed to make the body less respected in the eyes of the world; for it must never be forgotten that mankind will judge by external circumstances, that a poor establishment will naturally be subject to contempt, and that men who are despised will often, by ceasing to respect themselves, become really despicable.

§ 251. But to recur to the question at issue. If it be asked, whether the property so seized might have been employed in a way more beneficial to the nation? it must be confessed, that in some points it most certainly might; but, as a whole, it has probably fallen into hands in which the greatest advantage has been derived from it. We are not speaking of the justice of its application, but of its ultimate utility. Some of it might have been applied to promote education, particularly if we look to the northern parts of England; but real education is more truly promoted by exciting general activity through the division of property, than by any other means, by assisting those who are otherwise destined for learned professions, and thus enabling them to receive an education supe-

(*) It may not be amiss here to observe, that the stipend of the secular clergy was itself lessened by the Reformation, as much of the pay of the curate depended on what he obtained by saying masses for the

poor, and on different small fees which the various offices of the church of Rome greatly multiplied. All personal tithes gradually ceased to be paid after the Reformation.

rior to that which their own pecuniary resources would supply. Where the expense of a classical education is wholly provided for the indigent, the youth whose lot was cast in a lower sphere of life is forced up into an unnatural competition with his superiors. For the aid of talent and genius, when found among the lowest ranks of life, charitable foundations are a national blessing, but surely in this point we abound, and though some of the wealth in question might have been advantageously turned into this channel, yet we are speaking of the enormous revenues of the church which were then dissipated, and which were much larger than these objects could require. In academical establishments much was accomplished by Henry, so that, as far as the universities are concerned, the south of England has rather reason to be thankful for what has been done, than to repine that this branch was less extensive. This observation, however, cannot be extended to the northern counties, and in these, a place of academical education seems a great desideratum, particularly for the clergy, as the general poverty of the benefices will not allow those who are candidates for them to incur the ordinary expenses of either of the present universities (*).

§ 252. The blessings which have flowed from the London hospitals seem clearly to prove, that much might have been usefully applied to similar purposes in other parts of the kingdom, but public munificence has amply supplied this want, and no one can doubt that where such places of relief owe their origin and support to subscriptions, they possess a greater likelihood of promoting the end for which they are destined. The question does not simply resolve itself into the discussion, whether such and such sums might not have been beneficially employed in education and charity, but whether the consequences of the distribution of property have not converted a larger sum to these very purposes, and provided that all the money thus employed should be more properly applied. Landed property belonging to bodies corporate is generally much less really productive than the same quantity in the hands of an individual. The temporary nature of the tenure on both sides prevents any very strenuous exertions towards improvement, neither are willing to forego present advantage for the sake of future gain; so that the property itself becomes more valuable by the change of masters, while the growing wants of increasing prosperity will turn as much wealth into the course of education and charity as would have been employed in it upon the other scheme; add to which, that the supply of an open competition is not only more sure to be adequate to the demand, but the

(*) This was written some time before the splendid plan of the church of Durham was published to the world.

very freedom of it prevents the lethargy of repletion, under which wealthy bodies are but too apt to suffer.

§ 253 The estates, of which the church was deprived, were thrown into the hands of those who could not be entitled to them upon any plea, and while at the moment the nation was the loser, the court favourite alone derived advantage from the spoil. The poor were robbed of the rude hospitality with which the monasteries abounded, they were no longer provided with the same number of spiritual guides, who, with all their imperfections, must at least have equalled in point of information their lay contemporaries, and who, by being scattered through the country, must have furnished employment to a large portion of the lower orders. The farmer lost a kind and indulgent landlord, whose place was frequently supplied by a griping spendthrift; at the hospitable board which his own farm supplied, he was always a welcome guest, whenever he chose to partake of the liberality of the convent, the new proprietor, under whom he held, was occupied with the affairs of the nation and the court; and was scarcely known to him, but as the receiver of his hard-earned rents. The higher orders, who were not directly benefited by the plunder, felt the want of corrodies for their old servants ^(a), and were often distressed in providing for younger children, who would have been otherwise destined for the church.

§ 254. With all this in their favour, it seems wonderful that monasteries could have been overthrown with so much ease and rapidity, and for this difficulty we shall hardly find a solution, unless we consider the arbitrary power of Henry, and how much the clergy had made themselves the objects of hatred among the people by their vices, their superstition, and their tyrannical persecutions. As it was, the change produced a most formidable rebellion; and if the people could have foreseen the extent of the evil which this transfer of property was likely to produce, they would have resisted any such alteration: but fortunately they did not for had their resistance been effectual, the country would in all probability have been injured as to its true interests. Those who had become thus easily possessed of property were in the course of time forced to part with their ill-acquired wealth, and it is an observation worthy of attention, that few families really profited by church lands ^(a). This effect need not be attributed to the immediate vengeance of Heaven (for the land of laymen may be as truly dedicated to God as that of the church), but arose from this principle, that the rapacious are generally prodigal; and that however property may be

(a) The founder, or his representative, had generally a reserved right of quartering a certain number of persons on the convent.

(a) See Spelman on *Sacrilege*

divided for a time, the industrious and virtuous will sooner or later become its possessors. And thus, before the expiration of many years, the spoils of the church were thrown into those hands in which they would produce the greatest good to the body politic

§ 255 But the immediate effect was not at all that of promoting the welfare of this land. It was not the quiet transfer of wealth, accompanied by activity and prudence; but the forced dissolution of the right of property, and attended with waste and destruction. The tenants of the monastery were in many cases deprived of their leases, and the rents forced up to an unprecedented height. Those persons who possessed reserved rents on the lands of religious houses found such difficulty in obtaining their rights, when the property fell into the hands of the king, or a powerful subject, that they were often obliged to relinquish the claim; and where, as was frequently the case, the family of the founder had retained legally, or by tacit consent, the right of presentation to the preferments, the new owners of the soil deprived them of their privilege. Attempts were indeed made to obviate these evils; but who shall be bold enough to presume to set limits to violence, when the first principles of justice are destroyed? Or who shall check the rapacity of plunder, when the rights of property are systematically disregarded?

§ 256. Barbarism seems to have joined hand in hand with avarice in the work of destruction, the moveable parts of religious houses were quickly carried off and sold, and the dismantled building left to the pitiless ravages of time—a lasting monument of how much the Reformation cost us! The contents, as well as the fabric, suffered in the storm; the libraries were left to the ignorant possessor of the soil, or pillaged for the sake of the parchment and paper which they contained, so that the loss of English history is beyond conception, for the monks were the only historians of the times,¹ and in almost every monastery a record was kept, not only of the transactions of the society, but the political events of the period were regularly inserted, and when we have passed beyond, comparatively speaking, modern times, the monastic chronicles form the only documents for history.

§ 257 The improvements in agriculture did not of course keep pace with the alteration in the state of property; and the holders of large estates, in order to obtain the highest rents, found it necessary to convert much of their land into pasture. This circumstance reduced the ancient cultivators of the soil to a miserable state of precarious existence, and greatly promoted vagrancy and disorders, for which succeeding legislators in vain sought a remedy, till the establishment of the poor laws, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

¹ Fuller, 334.

connected the prosperity of the lower orders with the interests of the landlord. By the dispersion of so much property, many individuals were forced to earn their bread by labour, who would otherwise have wasted their lives in sloth and inactivity, but the mass of persons who were thus driven to exertion were not provided by education for cultivating any higher branches of even manual labour, and the nation found itself over-burdened with agricultural workmen at a time when the population did not amount to one-half its present numbers.

§ 258 We may easily conceive that this must have been the case, when we consider the amount of the sum transferred, which, according to Speed, was not less than an income of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds—scarcely, if at all, below that of all the other church property (*). In our own days we have experienced

(*) There is much difficulty in forming an accurate estimate of the value of the property so transferred, but in the absence of substantial information, some readers may be pleased with having even an approximation to the real sum placed before them, and will excuse the author for presenting such data as are within his reach, defective as they are. Speed says, Henry transferred 161,109l 9s 7½d to temporal uses.

	£	s	d
According to his abstract of dissolved monasteries they amounted to 1,100 in number, and their value was per annum	171,312	4	¾
Among these, I believe that several cathedrals are enumerated (Canterbury, Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Westminster, Winchester, Worcester), the income of which amounted to	13,828	8	¾
Reducing the sum total of the suppressed monasteries to	157,483	15	¾
Subsequent foundations —			
Five bishoprics Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, at the value in the king's book	1,858	11	6
Westminster at the same average	371	14	¾
Sixteen chapters (the stalls) in- cluding Christ Church, Oxford (Speed)	5,942	8	2
	8,172	13	11½
Leaving, independent of Trinity, Cambridge, and the London hospitals	£149,311	1	8
The approximation to the value of the other church preferment, at the same date, is as follows —			
8,331 benefices (in Speed)	£108,182	6	3
Bishoprics and stalls (at one-eighth of this)	13,522	15	0
	£121,705	1	3

(The one-eighth is taken as an approximation to the present proportion)

Mr Nasmith, in his edition of Tanner's *Notitia*, has given us from the *Liber Regis*, and other sources (Lingard, vi. Note E p. 503), as accurate an account as can be expected of the annual revenue of all the monastic houses. The result is the following. (N.B. This must regard the larger monasteries only.)

the stagnation and distress produced by the change from a state of war to peace, and an alteration in the value of money, together with the want of employment which such causes have occasioned, and this accompanied with no violence, and taking place at a moment when the diffusion of knowledge had opened every avenue for adventure. We may conceive, then, a forcible transfer of property, not relatively less than what the church at present possesses in this kingdom, at a period when the employment of resources was little understood, and when the religion, with the rites of which these establishments were connected, was one which occupied many individuals in its services, and those of every different rank in society, and we shall be able to form some idea of the evils and difficulties with which this change was for the time attended. The acts by which it was brought about were undoubtedly legal, for they were sanctioned by the parliament, and the supreme body in a kingdom must have the right^(b) to dispose of the property of any of its members, but the dissolution was carried on in opposition to every principle of sound policy, with a spirit which nothing can justify, and produced effects at the moment highly prejudicial to society.

§ 259 The ultimate result was unquestionably beneficial, for it turned all this wealth from a channel in which it was giving

No. of Houses	Orders	Revenue
186	Benedictines	£65,877 14 0
20	Cluniacs	4,972 9 2½
9	Carthusians	2,947 15 4½
101	Cistercians	18,691 12 6
173	Austins	33,027 1 11
32	Premonstratensians . .	4,807 14 1
25	Gilbertins	2,421 13 9
3	Fontevraud Nuns . . .	825 8 6½
3	Minoreesses	548 10 6
1	Bridgettines	1,731 8 9¾
2	Bonhommes	859 5 11¾
	Knights Hospitallers .	5,394 6 5¼
	Friars	809 11 8¼
Larger M	555	142,914 12 9¼
Smaller	375 with a clear revenue of . .	30,000 0 0
	930	£172,914 12 9¼

(Fuller, p. 312)

This result, drawn from sources totally different from the former, is sufficiently near to show that no very considerable error has been committed in the investigation.

(b) The word *right* is used in its extreme sense. They have a power which no authority in England can contradict. The law does, under certain circumstances, deprive an individual of his property (as in cases of treason), it occasionally

forces him to sell it. The question in reality is one of policy, but sound policy and justice are the same thing. It is in this sense that the parliament have the disposal of the revenues of the church.

birth to little activity, either of mind or body, into the hands of private possessors, who are of all people the most likely to promote the prosperity of the community. It is indeed probable that a larger portion might have been employed with advantage on hospitals and places of education, but that this sum ought not to have been considerable; and there can be little doubt that England would have been richer had the impropriations been restored (*). I mention this, because I believe that the value of a proper provision for the parochial clergy is often not understood, and often misrepresented. Had we never heard of such an establishment, and did we first meet in some Utopian scheme with such a project as the following, we should probably hardly imagine anything more perfect. That in every small district of the country a certain quantity of property was set apart, in order that some individual of the community, selected from any class, might be educated in a superior manner, and appointed to the superintendence of the spiritual and temporal wants of this little community; that he was furnished with a residence among them, and with the means of relieving the poor, and that all this was provided by a grant from the landed property of the country, made so long ago that it existed before any tenure at present on record;—I imagine that if this plan were thus offered to our notice, no one would doubt of its utility or wisdom; and if in practice it be found less pure than it seems in theory, if the least promising of his sons be selected by the lay proprietor to hold the family living, if large preferments be given to unworthy persons, it should not be forgotten that, directly or indirectly, the laity are the patrons of the great mass of preferment in this country. Nor ought we to overlook this fact also, that a large portion of the livings of England are inadequate to repay the actual expenses of such a liberal education as is generally bestowed on the clergy of this land.

It would be absurd to expect, that a body possessed of such power and wealth as has been granted to ecclesiastical persons should be free from numerous assaults, in a country where free discussion on every subject is allowed, but it cannot be inconsistent with toleration, which is the glory of our church, or with charity, which characterizes our religion, to pray, that the attacks of our enemies may induce the church to remedy the evils which exist among us; and that those who are ignorant enough to revile our establishment may be convinced of their error by the benefits which they shall receive from their spiritual guides.

(*) See some good observations on the ill effects of impropriations in Speaker Williams's speech, January 15, 1563 (Strype's *Ann* 1 437), and in the rough draught of a

reformation in ecclesiastical law, under the head of Better Providing for the Poorer Clergy, impropriations are said to be *radix omnium malorum* (Strype's *Ann.* 1. 479)

APPENDIX B TO CHAPTER V.

STATE OF RELIGIOUS OPINIONS IN THE CHURCH AT THE END OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

271 Three works published by authority 272 The arrangement of the Thirty-nine Articles followed 273 The Trinity. 274 Standard of faith. 275, 276. Points of faith referring to individual Christians 277 Points referring to the church 278 The Seven Sacraments 279 Penance, Orders, Confirmation; Extreme Unction 280 Lord's Supper, Matrimony 281 Traditions, supremacy of the king. 282 Observations 283 Points still wanting reformation

§ 271 THIS abstract is made from works put forth by authority, which are in number three.

I *Articles devised by the Kinges Highnes Majestie, to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonje us*—1536.

II *The Institution of a Christian Man, &c* 1537. This was dedicated by the bishops to the king, and is therefore called the *Bishops' Book*.

III. *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, set forth by the King's Majesty of England, &c* 1543. This was addressed by the king to his people, and is therefore called the *King's Book* (a)

It seems to be the generally received opinion (b), that the

(a) The three have been of late printed in one volume, under the direction of the late bishop of Oxford (Dr Lloyd), at the university press, and are thus placed within the reach of every student in theology. They are entitled *Formularies of Faith*, put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII 8vo Oxford, 1825. In these observations, No II is called the *Institution*, III the *Erudition*. In the preface to the *Three Primers*, printed 1834, by my late friend Dr Burton, Reg Prof of Div, Oxf, he shows that many parts of William Marshall's *Primer*, 1535, have been introduced into the *Institution*, No II.

(b) Probably among those who had access to the Scriptures, the opinions of the reformed church were gaining ground. The king had made a great and hasty political

step, which was likely to introduce doctrinal changes, to which he had no inclination, and therefore retraced those steps which he had apparently taken (Burnet, i. 274, 286, and *Rec* No 21, fol). In 1540, between the dates of these publications, two commissions had been appointed, one for the examination of the doctrines, the other, of the ceremonies of the church. The first sent in numerous answers concerning the sacraments, then number, nature, and efficacy, Confirmation, and the use of Christism therein, the nature of Ordination, and the difference between Bishops and Priests, Confession and Excommunication, and Extreme Unction. These contain a fund of information. The other committee drew up a *Rationale of the Church Service* (Strype, *E M* ii *Rec* 109), a sort of explanation of the meaning of

doctrines of the Church of England were retrograde during the period in which these treatises were written; so that we might expect to find the last of the three the least distant from the tenets of the Roman church, and these expectations upon examination are in some degree realized. With regard to the two latter works, which in all material points are the same, it will be useful to specify the most marked differences as we proceed in discussing the general contents of the latter, which was the standard of faith when Henry died.

§ 272 The *Articles* themselves are in a great measure inserted verbatim, or nearly so, into the *Institution*, and from thence copied into the *Erudition*; but in one case, in which a material alteration is observable, it consists of the introduction of opinions which are less at variance with the doctrines of our church. In the exposition of the honour to be paid to saints, the Christian is in the *Articles*, 1536, directed to address them as advancers of our prayers to Christ, the only Mediator, whereas what is said in the latter tracts¹ places the intercession of the saints in heaven² on the same ground as that of the ministers of Christ's church on earth (*). The very dates, indeed, would lead us to expect no great difference between the first two works, though the change of opinion indicated by the passing of the act of the Six Articles, in 1539, might direct us to look for it between the *Institution* and the *Erudition*.

The order which it will be desirable to adopt in the following investigation is probably that of the Thirty-nine Articles of our own church, for the student in divinity will thus more readily discover the points in which we disagree. The tract itself is arranged on a totally different principle. It explains successively

the ceremonies used in the church of Rome (Collier, ii 191), but it does not appear that any use was ever made of this (Strype indeed supposes (i 546) that it was quashed by Cranmer), unless it served to direct those who made some alteration in the service book, 'Portiforium secundum usum Sarum noviter impressum, et a plurimis purgatum mendis. In quo nomen Romano Pontifici ascriptum omittitur, una cum aliis, quæ christianissimo nostri Regis Statuto repugnant. Excussum Londini per Edvardum Whytchurch, 1541.'

(*) With regard to Good Works there is perhaps a slight alteration

(99, 372), in which the *Erudition* is nearer to the church of England, and an expression of the 'merits' of the saints being conveyed to the whole body of Christians, in the *Institution* (52 and 58), which is left out in the *Erudition*. The power of priestly absolution is more strongly marked in the *Institution* (98, 260), and the unlearned are in the *Erudition* directed to say the Pater-noster in their mother tongue (335). There is also an excellent tract on Freewill in the *Erudition* (359), which does not exist in the other, as to the particulars wherein the *Erudition* had gone back towards the see of Rome, see § 263.

¹ *Formularies*, 14.

² *Ibid* 70, 237.

the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and finishes with the exposition of certain articles on Freewill, Justification, Good Works, and the praying for souls departed. The elementary nature of the subject-matter explained, prevents, on many points, any great difference of opinion, and the difficulty which necessarily exists in marking the shades of progressive alterations must be pleaded in excuse, if in any particulars these distinctions should appear to be incorrectly laid down in the following pages (b).

§ 273 I.—V. In the first division of the Thirty-nine Articles, there is of course no material difference, as the church of Rome holds the doctrine of the Trinity in common with the church of England.

§ 274. VI—VIII. In the second division, wherein the basis or groundwork of our faith is marked out, the *Erudition* coincides, in fact, to a great degree, with the church of England, though in principle it differs from it most widely¹ As a standard of faith, it admits the whole body and canon of the Bible² (*i.e.* the Apocrypha and all), the three Creeds, the decisions of the first four councils, and directs that the interpretation of the word of God shall take place according to the meaning of the words of Scripture, and as the holy and approved doctors of the church do agreeably intreat and defend³ The church of England neglects not the assistance of the holy fathers in the interpretation of Scripture; it merely rejects the authority of such interpretation, and receives the Creeds, not upon tradition, but because they do agree with the Bible.

The authority of the moral law is established in the adoption of the Decalogue as a rule of conduct; and in the rejection of the ceremonial ritual, all Christian churches agree There is, however, one observation which is worthy of attention, in which it is asserted that the fourth commandment does not now pertain to Christians, though Christians are bound by it to the observance of the Sunday, and other holidays appointed by the church⁴ It is not indeed very clear what is meant to be conveyed by this exposition; for if it only refers to the change in the day of the week, the alteration has been admitted since the times of the apostles, but, as it now stands, it might certainly be extended to a length which few Christians would be willing to admit.

(b) The doctrines of the church of England are not here stated, since they may be found by consulting the Thirty-nine Articles, which, as

they are printed in the Prayer Book, must be within the reach of every reader.

¹ *Form* 5, 61, 227.

³ *Ibid.* 227 61.

² *Ibid* 324, 160, 210, 375

⁴ *Ibid.* 306, 142.

§ 275. IX.—XVIII. In the third class of articles, in which points of faith referring to individual Christians are treated of, it will be necessary to examine each separate article

IX. The doctrine of original sin is fully admitted,¹ though the exposition of it, in the *Institution*, is much more precise and copious,² in declaring the corruption of man's heart always abiding in him.

X. Freewill³ is fully explained in an excellent little tract at the end of the *Erudition*, in which the positions correspond with our present article: I cannot help recommending it to the attention of my readers, particularly the concluding paragraph 'All men be also to be monished, and chiefly preachers,⁴ that in this high matter, they, looking on both sides, so attemper and moderate themselves, that neither they so preach the grace of God, that they take away thereby freewill, nor, on the other side, so extol freewill, that injury be done to the grace of God.'

XI. Justification is attributed to the free mercy and grace of God, through Jesus Christ, as its final and efficient cause,⁵ and repentance, or penance, and a lively faith, are declared to be necessary to our receiving of the same but on this point the *Institution* is more clear⁶ It asserts that the justification of mankind⁷ could not be brought to pass by any works of our own, but by faith in the name and power of Jesu Christ, and by the gifts and graces of his holy Spirit. That our acceptance hereafter will take place,⁸ not through works of righteousness which we shall have done, but by the only grace, goodness, and mercy of God, and by and for the redemption which is in Christ Jesus.

XII. Although rather more efficacy may be attributed to good works than in our Article,⁹ yet the total inability of man to do anything pleasing to God of his own power is distinctly and clearly declared¹⁰

XIII XIV. Of works before justification, and of supererogation^(*), nothing is said, for though it be asserted in the *Institution*,¹¹ that the graces and merits of the church shall be applied to every member, yet the words do not necessarily imply any idea of supererogation. In these articles, XII—XIV, the *Erudition* is the nearest to the opinions of our church

§ 276 XV. The universal sinfulness of man is frequently

(*) They are indirectly rejected, when it is said, 'By good works we mean not the superstitious works of men's own invention' (*F* 370), wherein many called religious have trusted.

¹ *Form* 331, 363, 169

⁵ *Ibid* 368

⁹ *Ibid* 99

² *Ibid*. 171

⁶ See § 283

¹⁰ *Ibid* 372

³ *Ibid* 359.

⁷ *Form*. 36

¹¹ *Ibid*. 53.

⁴ *Ibid*. 362.

⁸ *Ibid*. 60

implied; the efficacy of Christ's offering, as it were, assumes his freedom from sin, and the doctrine itself is distinctly asserted ¹

XVI. The general efficacy of repentance, through Christ, pervades the whole of what is said on penance; and that the justified may fall, and rise again to newness of life, is asserted ²

XVII. In the doctrine of predestination, there is a difference between the two tracts, neither of them asserts it in that distinct manner in which it is contained in this article,³ but the *Institution* admits the principle, the *Erudition* teaches it not, because it is not clearly taught in Scripture and the doctors ⁴ The universality of the offer of grace and redemption is stated,⁵ so that it is the fault of men themselves that they reject and resist grace

XVIII The article of obtaining salvation only through Christ is implied, though not asserted *totidem verbis* ⁶

On this class of articles, then, we may observe, that the doctrines here established nearly resemble those of our own church, though in some particulars the propositions are not advanced with that uncompromising distinctness of attributing all to God's mercy, without the intervention of man's works, which a further study of the subject dictated Whatever was vitally important on these subjects is asserted, but the writer often seems to attribute an importance to man's own co-operation in his justification, which he subsequently modifies, so as to give the whole glory to God, ⁷ yet the fear of admitting Antinomian laxity, in establishing Christian faith, must plead a substantial excuse for those who had not yet practically learnt, that good works do spring out, necessarily, of a true and lively faith.

§ 277. In the fourth division of the articles, it will probably be advisable to continue the same method of examining them.

XIX—XXI. The doctrines contained in the nineteenth article⁸ are, to a certain degree, in accordance with those expressed in the *Erudition*, excepting that the breach with the church of Rome is, in the Thirty-nine Articles, distinctly brought forward; whereas the framer of the *Erudition* wished, if possible, to have preserved a communion with her, as far as was consistent with his ideas of the truth There is, therefore, no mention of the errors of the church of Rome in matters of faith; ⁹ for while the independence of each national church is asserted, it is added, that a diversity of rites does not destroy the unity of the whole The remaining positions of these articles are not touched upon; for at this time no doubt was entertained of the authority of the church

¹ *Form* 65, 67, 232

⁴ *Ibid* 224.

⁷ *Ibid*. 368, 371, 2

² *Ibid* 367

⁵ *Ibid*. 360, 365

⁸ *Ibid* 245, 55

³ *Ibid* 53, 52

⁶ *Ibid* 36, 363.

⁹ *Ibid* 247.

(i.e. the king) to ordain what she pleased, and nothing is said of general councils.

XXII The people are directed to abstain from reasoning on purgatory,¹ inasmuch as the state of the dead is uncertain, and pardons from Rome are called abuses, and unequivocally rejected, but prayers for the dead, masses and exequies for the whole Christian community of the quick and dead, are denominated charitable works, and approved of. In the remaining part of the article, the *Erudition* speaks a language at total variance with our church. Images are allowed of as books for the unlearned,² and no objection is made to adoration or prayer made before images, provided it be addressed to God. The invocation of saints,³ that is, the asking for their prayers, is approved of, as corresponding with a request of a similar nature, addressed to the ministers of God's word,⁴ or a faithful Christian brother who was still on earth.

XXIII. XXIV. Concerning ministering in the congregation, there was, at that time, no difference of opinion, and excepting in the translation of the Litany in the King's Primer, the use of the Latin service had not be altered.

§ 278 XXV. The *Erudition* still retains the use of the seven sacraments^(a), but it must not be forgotten, that this question is, in a great degree, merely concerning the name, for, at the same time, it makes a distinction as to the necessity of the sacraments, and qualifies what it says about them, so as to be much less distant from the church of England than might be supposed at first sight.⁵ The three necessary sacraments are, Baptism, Penance, and the Lord's Supper. The other four are, as divine institutions, called *sacraments*, but are not binding, of necessity, on every one. The minister of the church of England would say, that baptism, repentance, and the Lord's Supper, were necessary for all men, though he would esteem repentance merely as a Christian state of mind, and totally different from the other two, and he would acknowledge that the other four were, when divested of some superstitious non-essentials, religious observances, which the church of England has done well in retaining among her services. Whether we denominate any or all of them *sacraments*, must be

(a) This part of the *Erudition* differs considerably in point of form and arrangement from the *Instruction*, but the doctrines do not seem to be materially altered. According to Burnet (Rec. No. 21, book iii), the whole subject had been ex-

amined with great care by a committee of divines, whose answers upon each head are severally recorded, and strongly mark the judicious caution with which this work was carried on.

¹ Form 375, 211

⁴ See § 272

² Ibid. 299, 137

⁵ Form 293, 129,

³ Ibid. 237, 70

allowed to be a question of human prudence. The term, properly speaking, is not used in Scripture, and if *μυστήριον*¹ be applied in an ecclesiastical sense, as equivalent to sacrament, it is given to matrimony alone. The question really is, whether the difference of being instituted by Christ himself, personally, constitutes such a distinction as to warrant the church in affixing a separate name. In this, the *Erudition* differs from the church of England.

In baptism, the only difference which exists,² consists in retaining the use of the chrism.

§ 279. It should be observed concerning penance, or its almost equivalent term repentance,³ that the sacramental part consists in the absolution given by the priest, and that absolution pronounced authoritatively to an individual, unless it be accompanied by confession, or at least a declaration of the grounds of confidence in the penitent, is but a mockery of religion. When, therefore, I have stated what my own idea of the doctrine of the church of England is on this point (for I believe that many men, equally good judges of the subject, might differ from me herein), I shall proceed to point out the differences which the *Erudition* exhibits.

In order that sinners may be made partakers of the only remedy for sin, the death and merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,⁴ the conviction of sin within ourselves, and the humble acknowledgment of it to God, is absolutely necessary, for which purpose, the confessing our transgressions to our brethren, particularly to the ministers of God's word, is frequently useful, and in cases where the mind is troubled, the special declaration of God's merciful pardon to the individual may beneficially be made by those to whom 'the word of God' (*i.e.* 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven') hath authoritatively been intrusted.

The church of Rome would, I believe, say, that the confession and absolution were, humanly speaking, absolutely necessary for salvation. The medium which the *Erudition* observes is this; contrition would send the penitent to the priest,⁵ he would confess his sins, submit himself to discipline, as a part of the satisfaction for them, in order to show his willingness to return to God, always understanding that the real and whole satisfaction depended on the merits of Christ, while what he did himself was but the fruit of a contrite heart; and that upon this he would receive absolution authoritatively pronounced. At the same time the confession to the priest is said to be commanded by the church from its utility,⁶ and the universal efficacy of repentance, even

¹ Ephes v 32

² *Form* 292, 127.

³ *Ibid* 257

⁴ Service of the Visitation of the Sick, and Exhortation to the Lord's Supper

⁵ *Form*, 259

⁶ *Ibid*. 261

without absolution (in the absence of a priest), or of good works (provided there be no time for the sinner to perform them), is fully declared.

On this view of the subject, it is evident that the *Erudition* is much nearer to the church of Rome than to ourselves, and the point is of much more importance than it appears at first sight; for though in practice our church may too much neglect confession, and the consequent exercise of the priestly authority, yet the opposite extreme is far more dangerous, as it converts the priesthood into the judges, not the guides of the people; since the undue influence of the Roman Catholic clergy over their flocks does in reality hinge on the necessity of absolution in ordinary cases

The question concerning Orders, between the church of England and the church of Rome, regards chiefly the name, whether or no they shall be called a sacrament, but on this subject there is a point which requires observation, as the *Institution* and *Erudition* differ from both,¹ in declaring that there are only two orders mentioned in Scripture, those of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops, and the *Institution*² seems to speak of bishops as a human appointment, in the same manner as the jurisdiction of archbishops, metropolitans, &c., over bishops, is declared to be an arrangement made by men the papal supremacy is totally rejected, and kings are exhorted to reduce it

In Confirmation, which was still called a sacrament, the use of the chrism was retained³

Extreme unction was so called, as being the last unction used by the church, the others are given at Baptism and Confirmation, but if we except the anointing, nothing is said of this sacrament which a Protestant might not adopt with regard to our corresponding service, the Visitation of the Sick.

§ 280 XXVIII.—XXXI The *Erudition* retains the whole of the doctrine of transubstantiation (a),⁴ and the denial of the cup to the laity It allows, too, of the utility of masses⁵ performed for the universal congregation of Christian people quick and dead.

With regard to matrimony, the difference between the churches

(a) In the Articles and *Institution*, the corporal presence is spoken of in such general terms as might be used by a Lutheran, as well as a Roman Catholic (*Form* p 100) This, however, could hardly have arisen from any change of opinion, but must be attributed to the ob-

scurity of the subject, or at most to a desire to draw, as near as possible, to the Lutherans. while the distinct assertion of this doctrine in the *Erudition* may have arisen from the persecution against the sacramentaries which had since taken place

¹ *Form*. 281, 105

² *Ibid*. 118.

³ *Ibid*. 290, 95.

⁴ *Ibid*. 263, 5.

⁵ *Ibid*. 376

of Rome and England is merely as to the name We call it a religious rite, confirming the civil contract, they a sacrament.

XXXII Of the celibacy of the clergy nothing is said in the *Institution*, and it is only indirectly mentioned in the *Erudition*,¹ but we must remember, that in the meantime it had become a part of the law of the land, by the enactment of the act of the Six Articles.

§ 281. XXXIV The doctrine concerning traditions and ceremonies is nearly the same as ours—viz, that it is not necessary that they should be the same in every place, and that they cannot be correct if contrary to the word of God.² Of the two next Articles of course nothing could be said, as the Homilies and Ordination Service were not then put forth.

XXXVII The king's supremacy is frequently and strongly enforced,³ and it is curious to remark how much more this is attended to in the *King's Book* than it is in the *Bishops'*, at the same time the authority of the see of Rome is frequently declared to be usurped In the remaining articles we do not differ from the church of Rome And on those subjects on which nothing is said in the formularies, the mention of the articles referring to them has been omitted.

§ 282 In estimating the steps, then, which our church had advanced at this period, we cannot but observe that in point of doctrine very little had been effected. In that class of our articles which pertain to the salvation of the individual, there is a very marked agreement with the tenets of our church But it must not be forgotten that the Roman Catholic differs more from the Protestant as to the means whereby the convert may be made partaker of the blessings of God's grace, than as to the source from which that grace and mercy flow, so that the general positions of both correspond much more nearly than is commonly supposed. The acknowledgment of the helplessness of man without the aid of God is common to us both, nor do either deny that there is no remission of sins or salvation but through Jesus Christ As to the ordinary means of obtaining this grace, the *Erudition* coincides more with the church of Rome than with ourselves, and the only real point gained is the denial of the papal infallibility, a doctrine which prevents investigation, and hangs like a dead weight on every improvement or reform which religion or prudence would desire to introduce. It forms a barrier without an outlet, but which God enabled his servants to break down through the ambition and evil passions of Henry VIII, and when this was once done, even in those points in which the tenets of popery were concerned, and in which Cranmer was prevented from

¹ *Form.* 293.

² *Ibid* 246, 56.

³ *Ibid* 286, 120, 304, 310, 311.

expressing his genuine opinions, the principle is often in fact surrendered, while the name is retained, and many portions of those doctrines, which had been found by experience to be productive of evil, are mitigated and explained away.

§ 283 At the end of the fifth chapter a brief account was given of those points wherein the church still needed reform, and it may be useful here to state some of the particulars in which the Reformation had gone backward between the periods at which these two tracts were published. The advances which had been made may be seen § 272, and note (*)

With regard to transubstantiation, the point introduced was the statement that 'the substance of the bread and wine do not remain after consecration,'¹ a question of fact which, like the miracles performed by our Saviour, must be judged by the senses.

The cup, too, was denied to the laity²

The expression of praying for the 'quick and the dead'³ is introduced, there was no change, excepting in the use of the words

Many ceremonies are specified, about which nothing is said in the *Institution*. 'As the hallowing of the font, of the chalice, of the corporace, of the altar, and other like exorcisms and benedictions.'⁴ In speaking of justification by faith, the *Erudition* calls God 'the principal cause and chief worker of this justification in us,'⁵ but 'it pleaseth the high wisdom of God that man' shall be also 'a worker by his free consent and obedience to the same.' Expressions which are indeed afterwards qualified.

To these we must add the compulsory celibacy of the clergy

Upon the whole, then, we must conclude that in doctrinal points the church had gone backward, and that the discussions which had taken place, and the examinations of the several subjects, had been outbalanced by the influence of the Roman Catholic party, and the passions and prejudices of the king.

¹ *Form* 263.

² *Ibid* 265

³ *Ibid.* 375.

⁴ *Ibid* 310

⁵ *Ibid.* 364

CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI., FROM 1547 to 1553.

301 Lord Hartford protector 302 Images pulled down 303 Causes which retarded the Reformation 304 Royal visitation 305 Homilies 306 Gardiner and Bonner 307 Acts of Parliament 308 Communion service 309 Confession. 310 Gardiner imprisoned, Cranmer's Catechism. 311 Celibacy of the clergy 312 Acts of Parliament, the attainder of the admiral 313. Transubstantiation, consubstantiation, doctrine of the church of England 314. Disputations on transubstantiation 315 Anabaptists 316 New Liturgy 317 Risings among the people. 318 Bonner deprived 319 Fall of the protector, ordination service 320 Gardiner deprived 321 Hooper; nonconformity. 322 Review of the Common Prayer 323 Ridley's visitation 324 Foreign churches, and foreigners in England 325. The forty-two articles. 326 King's preachers. 327 Mary refused the use of the mass 328 Character of the protector 329. Acts of Parliament 330. Poverty of the church 331 See of Durham dissolved. 332 Edward's three foundations in London 333. Lady Jane Grey 334. Character of Edward. 335 State of the church 336 Erastianism of the church of England 337 Opinions of Cranmer 338 His plan of reforming. the civil power finally established the alterations 339. The commissions of the bishops, and conduct of Cranmer 340 He saved episcopacy. 341 Documents of the church of England of Lutheran origin 342 Wisdom with which the documents of our church were drawn up.

§ 301^(a). EDWARD VI., who was in his tenth year (Jan. 28, 1547) when the death of Henry VIII called him to the throne, was by his father's will placed under the guidance of a council, the several members of which were invested with equal powers, but the preponderating influence of Edward Seymour, earl of Hartford, and maternal uncle to the king, who was created duke of Somerset, soon enabled that nobleman to acquire a decided superiority over his colleagues, and to obtain for himself the chief authority in the kingdom, under the title of protector. The retiring disposition of Cranmer made him less inclined to interfere in temporal affairs, and Wriothesley, by putting the court of chancery in commission, in order that he might attend to the concerns of the state, gave such an advantage to his political opponents, that they deprived him of the seals, and granted the protector letters-patent, by which he afterwards held his office. The circumstance was favourable to

(^a) Burnet is throughout this chapter and the next the chief authority, but it is unnecessary to mark every reference.

the cause of the Reformation, for the political connexions and interests of his family, as well as his own inclinations, led him to favour this side of the question, and to co-operate with Cranmer in promoting its advancement.

§ 302. The advocates of reform at this moment not only had to contend against their open enemies, the friends of the old superstition, but were equally endangered by the injudicious zeal of their own hasty and unthinking allies, who, without waiting for authority, began to remove images, and make other alterations, which caused an unnecessary irritation among the Roman Catholics, and were calculated to raise up a spirit of innovation in the reforming multitude. Some persons, therefore, who had been engaged in these transactions, were brought before the council and severely reprimanded, but no punishment was inflicted on them, through the interference of such members of that board as were convinced of the impropriety of retaining images in places where religious worship was carried on. Cranmer indeed was so thoroughly sensible of the injurious tendency of this practice, that he was anxious at once to remove them entirely, and the populace, probably aware of the wishes of those in authority, ventured to commence the work of destruction. But Gardiner, on the contrary, still continued to maintain their utility, and wrote for this purpose to the duke of Somerset and Ridley, so that the question was brought under discussion; and whenever this is the case, it may always be hoped that truth will ultimately prevail.

§ 303. Another circumstance led to the examination of masses for the dead, in which the result coincided with that in the present case. Henry VIII. had left considerable property to the church of Windsor for the purpose of obtaining annually for his soul a certain number of masses and obits, acting, in this case, as many a sinner has done before him. He practically denied, by the whole tenor of his conduct, his belief in purgatory, yet, at his death, his last will testified that he still retained it. He destroyed the institutions which had been erected solely in consequence of this superstition, and so tried to persuade others that the idea of it was groundless, yet proved by his bequest that he still entertained a hope that it was true.

The progress of the Reformation, however, was by no means so rapid as might have been expected. The people in the larger towns, indeed, began by degrees to open their eyes to the corruptions of the church of Rome, but when, at the dissolution of the monasteries, provision was made for each of the monks, payable till such time as they were furnished with benefices, the surest step was taken to continue the diffusion of the old opinions. By this enactment it became the interest of the court of augmenta-

tions, and of those who had purchased monastic property subject to the payment of an income to the old members of the previous establishment, to take every means that these persons might be introduced into fresh preferments. Men, therefore, whose prejudices almost necessarily led them to dislike the Reformation, were thus scattered everywhere as instructors of the people, and every vacant benefice to which a cure of souls was attached, and which therefore was not tenable by a layman ^(a), was given to some ejected monk, and the guidance of the parish committed to one who was most likely to mislead them with regard to the Reformation. Add to which, that the poverty of the church not only prevented men of liberal education from entering into holy orders, and thus curtailed the number of ministers, but rendered such as served the poorer parishes of necessity friendly to doctrines ^(b) from which they had derived their chief support while the stock of information possessed by the clergy was generally insufficient to direct them to the truth, or to point out the superstitious and injurious tendency of the religious opinions which they professed.

§ 304. In this posture of affairs, it would have been impolitic to leave the cause of the Reformation to the tranquil effects of increasing light and knowledge, its adversaries were widely spread, and invested with much power to oppose the progress of any such principles of amendment, and Cranmer, therefore, wisely determined to use the authority and influence which he possessed, in order to advance the cause which he had so much at heart.

(September 1st) The act of parliament which had given the force of laws to the proclamations of Henry VIII had continued the same prerogative to the counsellors of his son, while under age, and on this authority a royal visitation for ecclesiastical matters was appointed. In addition to the injunctions given to the late visitors, curates were directed, in those now published,¹ to take down all images which had been abused by false devotion, and to avoid such customs as tended to superstition, but the people were forbidden to interfere in any such matter. A greater strictness in the observance of the Sabbath was enjoined, and the ministry were ordered to renew and increase their zeal and activity, in

^(a) Burnet, ii. 7, says that it was ordinary at that time for laymen to hold preferments without cure of souls. Protector Somerset had six good prebends promised to him, two of these being afterwards converted into a deanery and treasurer'ship. Lord Cromwell had been dean of Wells. Sir Thomas Smith, who was

in deacon's orders, though living as a layman, was dean of Carlisle (Strype's *Life*, p. 31).

^(b) A large portion of the income of a curate depends, in Roman Catholic countries, on the fees which are paid him for the performance of masses and other rites connected with the service of the church.

preaching within their own churches, in reading the portions of Scripture ^(a) appointed for the service, and in performing their other sacred duties

§ 305. In order to supply the deficiency of preachers, the first book of homilies was published in July,¹ and began to fix the standard of the faith of the church of England as it is now established. To assist the unlearned in the interpretation of Scripture, it was ordained that the Paraphrase of Erasmus ^(a) should be set up in every parish church: at the same time the petition for the dead in the bidding prayer ^(b) was altered to nearly its present form, and severe penalties imposed on simoniacal presentations. In the injunctions transmitted to the bishops, they were directed not only to preach themselves, but to take care that their chaplains also did so, and to admit none into orders who were not qualified for the office, and willing and able to perform their clerical duties, particularly that of preaching.

§ 306. The success which attended the aims of the protector in Scotland gave his party, and the friends of the Reformation, such a superiority as enabled them to proceed with vigour in putting these injunctions in force. We can hardly now be aware of the political necessity which might then have existed, for using severity towards those who did not assent to these alterations and injunctions, though of the general impropriety of such an attempt there can be little doubt. The mass of the clergy had been admitted to their benefices as members of the church of Rome, and their unwillingness, therefore, to change their creed, could never form a just ground for temporal punishment. Bonner and Gardiner were the chief objects of this persecution, the former of whom was committed to the Fleet prison for a short time, notwithstanding the submission which was forced upon him, but Gardiner remained there for a longer period; and his whole conduct on this occasion exhibits him in more favourable colours than at any other period of his history, his letter to Sir J. Godsave is very much what the

(a) In 1542 it had been ordered that a chapter out of the New Testament should be read at morning and evening service, on Sundays and holydays, and that, when the New Testament was finished, they should go through the Old (*Strype's Mem.* i. 580).

(a) The Paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospels and Acts was translated into English chiefly by Nicholas Udal, under the patronage of the queen dowager, and published in 1547, the translation of the rest was

printed in 1549, and again in 1552 (*Strype's Mem.* II. i. 45).

(b) The bidding prayer is that used before sermon, wherein the preacher directs his hearers to pray. The term comes from *bede*, a Saxon word, signifying a prayer, which is retained in the English word, 'bid.' Old forms of this prayer may be found in *Strype's Eccl. Mem.* i. Coll. No. 37. Burnet, ii. No. 8. iii. No. 29. Collier, ii. No. 54. The one in present use is in the 55th Canon, 1603.

¹ See § 412.

remonstrance of a bishop should be on such an occasion. He professes himself ready to suffer rather than to admit anything contrary to his conscience, and signifies his determination not to surrender the liberties of the subject, without petitioning against a proceeding sanctioned by the regal authority alone. His chief objection was directed against the third homily, on the Salvation of Mankind, because it excluded charity from the work of justification, nor was he satisfied with the Paraphrase of Erasmus, of which he said, that the English translation contained many additional errors beyond those exhibited in the Latin. A letter which he addressed to the protector on his return from Scotland breathed the same strain, and complained that he had now been detained seven weeks in the Fleet prison without servants or attendants, and contrary to law and justice. But this was as ineffectual as the last, and he remained a prisoner while the parliament sat, a severity which must probably be attributed to Cranmer, and can hardly be justified. It appears indeed to have produced some sort of remonstrance from the Lady Mary, who always expressed it as her opinion, that the affairs of religion should remain in the condition in which her father left them, till her brother was of age to judge for himself, a position generally advanced and maintained by the friends of that party.

§ 307. However tyrannical these proceedings of the council may appear, there seems no reason for accusing that body of any design of establishing an undue authority, for the first acts which were passed in the parliament assembled in the autumn revoked most of the severe laws enacted towards the end of the last reign. In this number were comprehended those concerning treason and Lollardies, that of the Six Articles, as well as the particular one under which they had been acting, and which gave the force of law to the royal proclamation. This was followed by another act on the Communion, in which severe censures were imposed on those who ridiculed the mass, but it was ordained that the laity should receive in both kinds, and that no private masses should be celebrated, a most important step in the cause of Reformation, for it cut at the root of most of the superstitions, and made the people view religion as a concern of their own, and not as an *opus operatum*, which might be left to the priest without any co-operation on the part of the congregation. Some acts were also passed relating to the temporal affairs of the church. By one law which now passed, it was ordained that bishops should in future be appointed by letters-patent, and not by a *congé d'élire* ^(a), and that all processes

(^a) The difference of these two chapters of the cathedral churches. forms is as follows. Bishoprics are The *congé d'élire* signifies the vacancy in theory elective by the several to the chapter enjoins them

relating to matters not purely spiritual should be carried on in the name of the king, an enactment which took away all controlling power from the ecclesiastical courts themselves, and compelled them to punish any neglect of their orders by excommunication, so that this sacred and awful process is frequently degraded by being used without any adequate reason, and in cases where there may be no moral offence. The nomination of the bishops virtually made little difference, as to ecclesiastical appointments, but with respect to the other part of the bill, either too little or too much was done. No causes, not purely spiritual, should have been left to the cognizance of these courts, unless some temporal power had at the same time been conceded to them, and this mistake has created an odium against these tribunals, which the church cannot remedy, and which originates in the heterogeneous nature of their composition. The lands belonging to chantries were now given to the crown, much against the wishes of Cranmer, who hoped, by continuing them till the king became of age, to have preserved a large fund for the future benefit of the poorer clergy. In the first draft of this bill the words ran, 'chantries, hospitals, fraternities, and colleges,' and as these expressions might have been so interpreted as to take in the universities, much exertion was made by those who understood the value of establishments for education,¹ and a clause inserted to prevent their being comprehended under these general terms.

§ 308 (A.D. 1548) The new year commenced with several very important steps in the reformation of religious matters. Directions were issued for the removal of all images, as well as the suppression of many superstitious ceremonies, a proclamation was made against the 'abuse of churches,'² which were exposed to many indignities, and made the scenes of riot and confusion, and severe threats held out against those who ventured to run before the civil authority in the abolition of such points as were still sanctioned by the law of the land. In order to prepare the way for the formation of the Book of Common Prayer, a committee was appointed to examine the services, who, on account of the pressing need of

to elect a bishop, and names a given person whose election would be agreeable to the king. If the chapter were to refuse the person so nominated, they would incur a præmunire, as trying to curtail the royal prerogative. Letters-patent nominated the bishop to the performance of all episcopal offices, which he was to perform in the

king's name. In both these cases the spiritual dignity was conferred by the consecration which took place subsequently, so that in neither does the sovereign interfere with the priestly offices, any more than the lay patron of a living does with the ordination of a candidate whom he nominates to it.

¹ Strype's *Life of Smith*, 29, Cheke.

² Strype's *Cranmer*, 251.

some alteration in the mass, commenced with the Communion Service, by proposing questions on the nature of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to which the several members were required to send in their respective answers, and though many documents of this description were destroyed in the days of Queen Mary, yet this is preserved, and is curious, as marking the care and anxiety used in drawing up this necessary and invaluable work. It is printed in the Collection of Records of the History of the Reformation, No. 25. The points in which their sentiments differ from the church of England are, that most of them still retained a belief in transubstantiation, that they approved of masses satisfactory, and of praying for the dead, and that many of them objected to the use of the vulgar tongue for the whole of the ceremony, though they consented to the reading and explaining the Gospel in English.

§ 309 The Communion Service, which was published on March the 8th,¹ does not essentially differ from the one now in use, and in its composition Cranmer appears to have made no unnecessary alterations, but to have retained whatever was innocent in the service of the mass. The work itself indeed appears to be an intermediate step between the old and the new offices, for such parts of it only were in English as more particularly related to the general communicant, while the rest, even the consecration of the elements, was not translated.

In the exhortation, read the day before the celebration of the communion,² the people are allowed to use or to abstain from auricular confession, and warned against entertaining uncharitable opinions with regard to those who differed from themselves in this particular. The evils and abuses arising from this custom had so alienated the minds of most men from it, that it was readily dispensed with; but it has proved a misfortune to our church, that the tide of opinion has carried us too far towards the opposite extreme. The Scriptures never speak of confession as obligatory in such a sense as the injunctions of the church of Rome had ordained. Confession to a priest is nowhere mentioned as absolutely necessary; but reason, as well as the word of God, strongly points out, that to acknowledge our faults, especially to one vested with spiritual authority over us, must be a most effectual means of restraining us from the commission of sin; and wherever the congregation has been scandalized by our transgressions, surely a public avowal of our errors must prove an obvious method of making all the retribution which we can, not to God, but to offended society; nor can we doubt that the Almighty will accept such an outward

¹ Sparrow's *Coll.* 13.

² *Ibid.* 18.

act of humiliation. This was in all probability the whole extent of the penance of the early church, but the power with which private confession invested the priest, together with the profit to the ecclesiastical body with which absolution was gradually accompanied, transformed that which was instituted for the glory of God, and the salvation of mankind, into an engine of papal authority. The indulgences offered in the *Hours after the Use of Sarum*, the book of devotions then generally adopted in England, would move at once our derision and pity for an age which could admit such absurdities, did not the proffered pardons now hanging in foreign Roman Catholic churches convince us that the spiritual safety of the people can never be ensured by any state of civilization, whenever the holy Scriptures are practically not the standard by which men measure their duties, and the groundwork on which they found their reliance.

In the Church of England the confession of particular sins is recommended in the Exhortation to the Sacrament, and the Visitation of the Sick, but so little are we accustomed to this most scriptural duty, that these recommendations are frequently unknown and generally neglected, while scarcely a vestige remains of ecclesiastical law for the restraint of vice, and though the punishment of many offences has been wisely transferred to the courts of common law, yet the laxity which prevails with regard to numerous breaches of the law of God may be well esteemed a deficiency in our national duty.

§ 310. About the middle of this year Gardiner fell into fresh troubles. The point in which he probably offended the ruling powers was by denying, as far as he dared, the supremacy of the council. But the friends of the Reformation do not seem to have acted with that spirit of forbearance which befitted so good a cause, and the want of which contributed to excite the spirit of personal hostility with which the reign of Mary was disgraced, and which fell with tenfold severity on the heads of the reformers. The protector appointed Gardiner to preach before the king, and wished to have compelled him to adopt in his sermon certain notes written with the king's own hand, but, with a proper spirit of independence, the bishop of Winchester declined taking notice of this interference, and upon this he was imprisoned. About the same time Cranmer put forth his Catechism. This work was translated from a German Catechism, used in Nuremburg, through the medium of a Latin version made by Justus Jonas, and is probably due to the labours of some of the chaplains of the archbishop. It is not improbable that the Latin version was brought into England by Justus Jonas the younger, when he was driven from his own country through the severity with which the Interim was imposed,

and hospitably received, among other confessors, by Cranmer. On this supposition we may attribute the Latin version to Justus Jonas the father, a man of much celebrity among the German reformers. The English translation is generally made with much closeness, but in some instances new matter has been introduced into the text (*).

§ 311 (Nov 24) In the parliament which was assembled during the autumn a bill was brought in to enable the clergy to marry, it passed through the commons without any great opposition, but in the lords met with such delays, that it did not receive the royal assent till the spring of the next year. The question at issue was really divisible into two heads first, whether any law of God enjoined celibacy in the clergy, and, secondly, whether the clergy were themselves bound by any oath voluntarily taken, and which could not be dispensed with. With regard to the first of these, there is no difficulty, for I believe that the church of Rome pretends to no higher authority than that of ancient custom, sanctioned by the enactments of the church, and against this, the examples of the apostles and the primitive church are so strong, that the ecclesiastical advantages to be derived from the celibacy of the clergy must form its only tenable ground of support and here the evils of forcing human beings in this particular have been so strongly experienced as to overbalance, in the opinions of moderate reasoners, all the benefits which may result from a single life among the priesthood when undertaken in a voluntary manner. With respect to the second particular, it appears that the secular clergy were under no vow of living single, for even the vow of chastity, which existed in the Ordination Service of the foreign churches, formed no part of that used in England, and had it been so, chastity is probably more safely guarded by marriage than by abstinence. At the same time, there is so great a semblance of self-devotion in abstaining from the innocent pleasures of life for the sake of religion, that it is no wonder if the abolition of celibacy among the ministers of religion were frequently objected to the reformers. But, on the other hand, its practical results, and the judgment of such men as Ponet, Parker, Ridley, and Redmayne, who argued in favour of the marriage of the clergy, though some of them abstained from it themselves, serve strongly to convince us of the superior wisdom of Almighty God, who has so formed the laws by which the universe is directed, that we exercise the soundest human policy when our institutions approach the nearest to the dictates of his revealed word.

(*) See Burton's preface to Cranmer's Catechism, which has been printed together with the Latin of

Justus Jonas, Oxford, 1839. The date in the preface of Justus Jonas's dedication is Feb 11 1539

§ 312 (Jan. 15, 1549) In the act which passed confirming the use of the Liturgy¹ a clause was inserted which allowed the use of psalms or hymns taken out of the Bible, and the singing of psalms became a marked characteristic of the favourers of the Reformation many, therefore, were now translated and composed and it is no small reflection on the poetical talent or piety of our church, that the collection of psalms made soon after this period has been allowed to continue the best which we possess in an authorized form (a).

Another act enjoined the eating of fish on those days of fasting which had been appointed by the Roman Catholic church The object of this enactment was declared to be the support of the fisheries, and not any religious difference which existed as to the species of food used; and though we may laugh at the framers of an absurd law, we cannot but deplore one practical evil arising from such injudicious interference, for mankind have of course seen through the folly of the ordinance, and with its neglect have neglected also the sacred duty of real fasting, which is placed in so ridiculous a light.

The attainder of Sir Thomas Seymour produced little effect on the Reformation, except by bringing some degree of obloquy on two of its friends on Cranmer, for signing a death-warrant, from which it was thought that his office might have screened him; and on the protector, who was unjustly said to have given up his brother too easily, though it appears that he had long used all the means in his power to prevent the catastrophe towards which the ambition of the admiral was unceasingly hurrying him.

(a) The authority possessed by the old version depends on a clause in an act of which the words are, 'Provided always, that it shall be lawful for all men, as well in churches, chapels, oratories, or other places, to use openly any psalm or prayer taken out of the Bible at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service or any part thereof mentioned in the said book' (2, 3, Edward VI c i vii) expressions which equally apply to any other version But it may still be doubted, whether even this is not repealed by the last clause of the act of uniformity of Elizabeth The custom of introducing psalmody into the church service had been for some time established among Protestants abroad, and was early brought into

England, and this act seems merely to have given a legal sanction to the custom Th Sternhold translated fifty-one psalms into metre, which were published in 1549, and the remainder of them were completed, during the reign of Mary, by John Hopkins and other exiles, whose initials are generally affixed to them. W W, William Whittingham, afterwards dean of Durham, W. K, William Kethe, N, Norton, M, Markant, R W, Robert Wisdom, D (qu Dr) Cox translated the Lord's Prayer There are several other initials, with the authors' names of which I am unacquainted; T. C, T. B, E. G, T N, J P several of these are affixed to the early editions only

¹ Strype's *E. M* II i. 136.

§ 313 An ecclesiastical visitation was appointed early in this year, in order to suppress many superstitious observances which still continued to be used. No difficulty was found in gaining outward compliance with the commands of the government, but it was impossible to eradicate instantaneously prejudices and customs which had long been prevalent in the country, and to which the vulgar, from their ignorance, had attached the notion of religion. The exertions of the reformers, however, were not confined to these minor objects alone; steps were taken for the establishment of the doctrine as well as discipline of the church, which rendered it necessary that the chief articles of faith should be gradually examined. No opinion was entertained with so much earnestness on the part of the common people and the priesthood as that of transubstantiation, its friends regarded the suppression of it as depriving them of their chief spiritual hope, and the clergy foresaw in its destruction the overthrow of much of their authority. Without entering into a discussion of the question, it may perhaps lead to clearness, if the several opinions entertained on this subject be briefly stated.

The church of Rome holds the doctrine of transubstantiation, that is, that after consecration the elements of bread and wine no longer remain, but that a perfect body of our Saviour is given to each individual receiving the consecrated wafer, and that the same body which was offered on the cross, so that a miracle is constantly repeated, of which the senses of the party receiving are not a test.

The Lutheran church holds the doctrine of consubstantiation^(a), that is, that the body of Christ is so with the bread, or in the bread,¹ that it is actually eaten with the bread; and whatsoever motion or action the bread hath, the body of Christ has the same; so that the body of Christ may truly be said to be borne, given, received, eaten, when the bread is borne, given, received, or eaten, that is, *This is my body*.

The doctrine of the church of England is, that the bread and wine are outward and visible signs of the body and blood of Christ, which body and blood are received and eaten in a heavenly or spiritual manner by the faithful in the Lord's Supper^(b).

(a) The Lutherans are also called Ubiquitarians, from maintaining the ubiquity of Christ's body. Brentius is said to have first brought the doctrine into especial notice, and a formulary of faith, of which it forms a leading article, was composed at

Berg, in 1577. See Broughton's *Dict. of all Religions*.

(b) It is highly probable, that soon after the consultation of Cranmer and Ridley on the subject of transubstantiation (Todd, *Introd.* vii. to *Cranmer on the Sacrament*), the

¹ Burnet, *P. m.* b. IV. No. 1.

§ 314. Cranmer wrote on the subject, and was answered by Gardiner; and disputations were this year held in Oxford and Cambridge, and again in the next at Cambridge. In the former, Dr Smith challenged his successor in the divinity chair, Peter Martyr, to a public disputation, but as they were not prepared to argue on the same grounds, the one wishing to confine the discussion to Scripture terms, while the other trusted to his school divinity, the matter was deferred till the arrival of certain commissioners from London, and in the mean season, Smith having fallen into trouble, either on account of a tumult now raised, or on some other grounds, made concessions to Cranmer and fled the kingdom. But the disputation subsequently took place on the following heads.

In the eucharist there is no transubstantiation

In the bread and wine Christ is not corporally present.

The body and blood of Christ are united to the bread and wine sacramentally.

At Cambridge, the theses which were summed up by Ridley were,

Transubstantiation cannot be proved from the direct words of Scripture, nor be necessarily collected from it, nor is it confirmed from the early fathers

In the eucharist, no other sacrifice is made than the remembrance of Christ's death and thanksgiving

And here it must not be forgotten, that the cause of the Reformation was greatly promoted by the exertions of certain learned foreigners,¹ who were encouraged to visit England by the friends and promoters of true religion; and who repaid the debt of gratitude, which they incurred, by being extremely useful in the advancement of sound learning and Christian truth. Peter Alexander was first received into the family of Cranmer, and then obtained preferment from him. Fagius was placed at Cambridge, where he soon died, and was succeeded by Tremellius; and Bucer taught divinity, and Cavelarius Hebrew, at the same university. Peter Martyr was established at Oxford, as we have just seen, and the disputations which have been mentioned were in each university maintained by these alien teachers.

§ 315. These discussions appear to have been carried on with great propriety; and it is much to be lamented that the other

archbishop caused an English translation of the book of Bertiame the priest, concerning the body and blood of Christ, to be published. Two editions were printed in 1548

and 1549, reprints of this work are common. See § 16, b. It is highly satisfactory to observe how entirely this author agrees with the doctrines of the church of England.

¹ Strype's *Mem.* II. i. 321, &c.

proceedings of this period were not marked with the same moderation. Complaints had been brought to the council of the prevalence of anabaptists, who propagated most pernicious doctrines, and who frequently combined much criminality of life with their erroneous opinions. but with this sect, unfortunately, other persons were often confounded, whose only fault consisted in entertaining sentiments concerning the efficacy of infant baptism at variance with the received practice of the Christian church. To check the progress of these opinions, a commission was appointed, and though the members of it generally used kindness and persuasion, yet in the case of Joan Bocher of Kent, a woman apparently more fit for a madhouse than the crown of martyrdom, they delivered her over to the secular power, and she was burnt during the next year ^(a). There was considerable difficulty in persuading Edward to consent to this severity, and it was only on the strong remonstrances of Cranmer that he was induced to sign the warrant. The act was performed by him with tears in his eyes, and with an appeal to the archbishop, that at the day of judgment he must answer for having procured the signature ^(b). This proceeding gave great and just offence to the world, and was used as an argument to justify the necessity of capital punishments, in matters of faith, by the persecutors of the next reign; who in the sufferings of the father of our Reformation have often traced the retribution of Divine justice on one who, in these instances, as well as those during the life of Henry, cannot be excused even by his friends. The same severity was used in 1551 towards George Van Pare, a Dutch anabaptist.

§ 316 The event which must principally attract the notice of the friends of the Reformation during this year is the introduction of the English Liturgy. The book now published differed in some respects from that which is in use at present, and the differences may be found in another part of this work ¹. In the execution of the whole production much forbearance was exhibited; nothing was changed excepting where necessity dictated it, and in matters indifferent, the previous misapplication of an innocent ceremony was not admitted as a sufficient reason for rejecting it altogether.

(a) She was burnt for denying that our Saviour took the flesh of the Virgin Mary (Strype's *Mem.* II. i. 335).

(b) It is probable that the account here given is incorrect. Mr. Bruce, in his Biographical notice of Roger Hutchinson, pp. iv v. clearly shows that the details as given by Foxe could not be true, for the king's

signature was not necessary for her execution. If the story had been known in the days of Queen Mary, it would, in all probability, have been brought forward against Archbishop Cranmer. The only supposition on which it can be admitted is, that it was an anecdote incorrectly related, after the death of Mary.

¹ § 743, b.

One great point gained by the adoption of this work consisted in the rejection of a multitude of saints, to whom, by degrees, all the merits of our Redeemer had been transferred,¹ and petitions addressed, which to the eye of a Protestant appear almost blasphemous, when directed to a creature. The translation of the public services, too, was a most important step, for the use of the Latin language had probably been closely connected with the continuance of those errors which it concealed from the notice of the vulgar. It had been originally a natural process, from the admiration of the saint or martyr, to pray that the supplicant might be enabled to imitate his virtues, and from thence, in an age of darkness, to address the prayer to the beatified being himself, but in the sixteenth century it was an act of interest and prejudice to continue the pious fraud, and of wisdom to conceal the grossness of the error, under the mystery of a dead language. One argument used in its favour is curious.² The inscription on our Saviour's cross has been limited to three languages, and to these, therefore, the service of the church ought to be confined, a method of arguing at present not very intelligible. The book was framed in 1548, the act which sanctioned it was passed early in the spring, and ordained that it should be used after Whitsuntide.

§ 317. The questions of infant baptism and predestination caused no small inconvenience to the church, by the diversity of opinion which they excited among the friends of religion, and the scandal which the mistaken adoption of the latter produced in the lives of some who imagined themselves to belong to the number of the elect. Indeed, a general dissoluteness of morals seems to have prevailed, for the people were at once freed from the restrictions imposed by the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, and had not yet reaped the advantages of the moral restraint of religious education, of which the fruits must necessarily be slow. The oppression, too, which the transfer of so large a portion of property had occasioned, began to be severely felt. The new possessors of the soil frequently turned out the old cultivators, and converted the land into pasture, which was found to be much more profitable from the increasing trade of the kingdom in wool. The ejected labourers, in their own minds, connected these proceedings with the change in religion, and risings among the people were very general during the summer. Most of these were easily suppressed, but in the west, and in Norfolk, they became formidable. The men of Devonshire and Cornwall besieged Exeter^(*), which was with

(*) The raising of the siege of Exeter is still celebrated in that city on the 6th of August, which is denominated the Jesuits' day, from the leaders who guided the besiegers.

¹ Burnet, *P* ii No. 29.

² Burnet, *u.* 58, fol 139, 8vo

difficulty relieved by Lord Russell, who completely dispersed their forces, and put an end to the rebellion by the execution of the ringleaders. During the height of their prosperity, they ventured to propose terms to the government, and demanded the virtual restitution of popery. To each article of this document distinct answers were sent by Cranmer, which are printed at length by Strype, and the tenth is too curious to be omitted,¹ they insisted in it, that the Bible should be called in, since the clergy could not otherwise easily confute heretics .

The rebels in Norfolk were dispersed, after some bloodshed, by the earl of Warwick; and the protector, who had from the first favoured the cause of the commons, and in so doing incurred considerable odium among the nobility, proclaimed a general pardon with very few exceptions, though contrary to the wishes of many members of the council

§ 318 (Oct. 1st) During the autumn Bonner was deprived of his bishopric . he had uniformly complied with the injunctions which were sent him, but as he was, with good reason, suspected of favouring the opposite side of the question, he was summoned before the council, and ordered to preach at St Paul's Cross. The topic on which he was particularly directed to dwell, was the power of the king while a minor, and he was ordered to declare that the acts of the council were nowise less binding than those of a monarch of age . When the time of his preaching had arrived, he omitted this subject entirely, and turned his discourse to the question of the corporal presence, and upon this he was cited before a commission appointed by the king, and after much useless altercation, in which he was needlessly insolent to the court, he was imprisoned and deprived . The excuse which he made for himself was, that in consequence of his notes having fallen down, he had forgotten that part of his sermon in which he meant to have touched on this head, and though this excuse was probably false, yet the treatment of him cannot but appear severe, even supposing the deprivation to have been legal in itself. It is sometimes maintained that the deprivation took place in virtue of his holding his bishopric during the king's pleasure, in consequence of a commission which all the bishops took out at the beginning of the reign,² and in which the clause *durante bene placito* exists . This document, however, seems merely to regard the exercise of his episcopal functions, and in which, certainly, he is limited to the pleasure of the king; but the words can hardly extend to the bishopric itself . The sentence of deprivation too, is passed on the plea of the omission in the sermon.

¹ *Life of Cranmer*, Ap 40

² Burnet, *P* ii. No 2.

§ 319. (Oct. 14.) The fall and imprisonment of the protector was hailed by the Roman Catholic party as the triumph of their cause; yet their exultation was of short duration, for the earl of Warwick (afterwards duke of Northumberland), who had been the chief instrument in bringing it about, finding the young king entirely disposed towards the Reformation, immediately joined that party, and Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, baffled in all his projects, retired from court, and soon after died

(A D 1550) With the view of counteracting an opinion which generally prevailed, that the old service was now to be renewed, all the books connected with it were ordered to be delivered to persons appointed by the king, for the purpose of being destroyed; and strict injunctions were given for the regular use of the Common Prayer

A committee¹ of twelve persons was also appointed to prepare a new Ordination Service, one of whom was Heath, bishop of Worcester; and upon his refusal to consent to the proposed alterations, he was committed to the Fleet prison so little were the principles of liberty, of either conscience or person, then understood. The form then adopted is, with very little alteration, the one at present in use. In its formation, the ceremonies which had by degrees been introduced into the church of Rome were omitted, while an addition was made of certain questions addressed to the candidates themselves, forming altogether one of the most beautiful and impressive services of our church.

§ 320 The continuance of Gardiner's imprisonment had for two years deprived the see of Winchester of its bishop, and after the fall of the protector, when in the fulness of his joy he expected a speedy release, he found himself exposed to increased severity. Two sets of articles were proposed to him for subscription, the latter of which he refused to sign, as he did not approve of their contents; maintaining that his signature could not be fairly required while his person was not at liberty; and upon this, permission was refused him to walk in certain galleries in the Tower, with which he had been previously indulged. In this state he remained till the next year, when he was deprived of his bishopric by a commission issued by the king (April 18), nominally for his obstinacy in refusing to acknowledge his fault about preaching,² but really on account of his attachment to the old superstitions; for his whole conduct, like that of the greatest part of the friends of the church of Rome, consisted in opposing the measures of the Reformation, till they were passed into laws, and then entirely complying with them, and whatever we may think of the sincerity

¹ See § 744.

² See § 310

of such proceedings, no one can doubt that the punishment inflicted on men so acting was contrary to common justice, and therefore to sound and Christian policy.

§ 321 A difficulty now occurred, arising from an opposite party in the church, for when Hooper was appointed to the see of Gloucester, he refused to be consecrated in the episcopal habits ^(a), and though Cranmer and Ridley argued against the soundness of such scruples, and consulted Bucer on the subject, who, as well as P. Martyr, expressed his opinion in favour of conformity, yet Hooper could not till the next spring be prevailed on to give way; and even then he did so with a reservation that he should not be obliged to wear these supposed relics of popery, except on public occasions. The dispute was an unfortunate one, being the first of a series which for many years agitated our church; but on a calm examination of the subject, at a period when it is to be hoped that such indifferent matters may be viewed without prejudice, it must be granted that though the distinction of ecclesiastical dress appears in itself to be useful, yet it may seem, too, that the policy of the government would have been wiser had they left Hooper to his own conscientious scruples, and found some other divine, who, without possessing less sincerity, was not so strongly bent on following his own opinion in trifles. Obedience to general rules, in points in themselves indifferent, is of more consequence, and the neglect of it ought to be considered as a matter of conscience far more important than the disinclination of an individual to the use of any dress which the authority of the church has established. Whether it were judicious in those who regulated these particulars to adopt this or that vestment, is a question which admits of fair discussion, but whether an individual minister is to conform to the orders of the church, is one on which a difference of sentiment cannot for a moment be entertained. It may be prudent on some occasions to overlook minutiae of this sort; but if the question be brought to a point, the governors and governed should remember that obedience to constituted authority, provided that what is commanded be in no wise contrary to the revealed law of God, is a fundamental article of the Christian code.

§ 322. About the end of this year, or the beginning of the next, a review was made of the Common Prayer, in which Bucer was much consulted. The objections which he made were numerous, and applied especially to the praying for the dead, exorcising the devil, to some of the expressions in the sacramental service, and of the ceremonies at baptism, to the anointing the sick, together with many minor points, and it is curious to observe that most of the

(a) It should be remembered that of some coloured material, and that the chimere was then generally made the cope was still used

particulars which he mentioned are altered in our present service. At the same time he wished that a change should be made in the ecclesiastical habits, and many obvious deficiencies supplied, as the want of frequent communion and more active ministers. As a new year's gift, he sent Edward a book written by himself, entitled, *De Regno Christi Constituendo*; in which he points out many evils which stood in need of reformation, and in consequence of which Germany was then suffering. He chiefly complains of the want of ecclesiastical discipline, and urges the young monarch to exert himself with the clergy. This work appears to have had considerable effect on the king, for he began a treatise of his own, on the reform of abuses,¹ which, though in all appearance the performance of a boy, abounds with many just observations.

§ 323 Upon the deprivation of Bonner, the see had continued vacant about five months^(a), till Ridley, a man in every respect suited to so great a charge, was made bishop of London and Westminster, the sees being now consolidated, and Thulby removed to Norwich. In the visitation of his diocese, the chief care of Ridley^(b) was directed against the remnants of superstition which were still retained by the clergy and the people, and in which they had been fostered, if not supported, by Bonner, as well as against unauthorized preaching and expounding of holy writ. At the same time the altars were everywhere converted into communion tables, since the name and form 'probably contributed to the continuance of the idea of an expiatory sacrifice offered by the priest. This order of the bishop's was during the autumn confirmed by a letter from the council, and, by the same authority, a stop put to the custom of preaching on week-days, which had been established in many parishes, and was found to be inconvenient, in consequence of leading people away from their accustomed places of worship, and exciting a spirit of rivalry among the preachers, which was at this moment especially productive of confusion in the church.

§ 324 The difficulties against which the Reformation had to contend on the Continent² created a great influx of strangers into England, and by the friendly interference of Cranmer and others, congregations were established in London, under the general superintendence of John A'Lasco, a Polish nobleman, who had been driven from his country for the sake of his religion, and

(a) Bonner was deprived Oct 1, 1549. Ridley appointed bishop of London and Westminster, Feb 24, 1550. The visitation before June 26. See § 318.

(b) See his injunctions in Sparrow's *Collections*, p 33. They contain many questions relative to the general life and conversation of the clergy.

¹ Remains of Edward VI, No 2, 54, fol. 98, 8vo.

² Strype's *Cranmer*, II xxi. 335

become a preacher of the Gospel. Much favour was shown them by the council, and a church assigned for their use, where, during this reign, they greatly flourished, notwithstanding the internal feuds into which they fell. A'Lasco preached before the Germans, but there was also an Italian, as well as a French congregation, to which several immunities were granted. There was a church of strangers, too, from Strasburg,¹ under Valerandus Pollanus, established at Glastonbury, who made use of a liturgy of their own, not very different from that of the reformed churches of France.

England also furnished an asylum to many learned men whose labours were transferred to this country in consequence of the misfortunes of their own, and the liberal reception which was here afforded them. This praise is chiefly due to Cranmer,² who on all occasions proved a most kind patron to those who were persecuted for religion, and endeavoured to induce well educated friends of the Reformation to take up their abode in England, by the pensions and employments bestowed on them. To this source we owe the assistance which our church derived from Bucer, Fagius, Peter Martyr, and Ochin, who, among many others, partook of the bounty of the archbishop, and became the ornaments and instructors of the two universities.³ Cranmer seems also to have entertained the hope of bringing all the Protestant churches to a community of faith, by forming a council in England, to which deputies should be sent from the rest, and who might publish such articles of belief as were received by all, and for this purpose he had some communication with Melancthon and Calvin; but the troubles with which he was himself soon after oppressed put an entire stop to the project^(a).

§ 325 (A D 1551) It was in all probability during this year that the Reformers were employed in drawing up the Forty-two Articles, which were published the next, and though Ridley might have assisted the archbishop, as well as some others, yet there is

(a) The project of establishing an authoritative standard of faith by a general congress of reformed divines (Laurence's *Bamp. Lect.* 219) had long been a favourite idea with Melancthon. We find him thus alluding to it in the year 1542. 'Quod autem sæpe optavi, ut aliquando autoritate seu regum, seu aliorum piorum principum, convocati viri docti de controversis omnibus libere colloquerentur, et relinquere posteris firmam et

perspicuam doctrinam, idem adhuc opto' Preface to his Works *Epistolæ*, London, p 147

The project, therefore, probably did not begin with Cranmer, he corresponded with Melancthon on the subject in 1548, and with Calvin in 1551, but the difficulties were so great that it was abandoned, and the archbishop began to prepare a formulary for the use of the church of England

¹ Strype's *Mem.* II. 1. 378.

² Strype's *Cranmer*, II. xxii 335, &c

³ Ibid III. xxiii 573, xxiv xxv. &c

every reason to believe that they are really the work of Cranmer, and this indeed he seems to have acknowledged in an examination in the reign of Mary.¹ They resemble so closely the Thirty-nine Articles of our church that it will hardly be worth while to state the minor differences which have been subsequently introduced, as the subject itself must be resumed in the history of the reign of Elizabeth.² One thing, however, should be observed, that there is no historical evidence to confirm an idea not unfrequently entertained, viz, that they were drawn up for the sake of promoting peace and tranquillity, and as a compromise of opinion rather than a standard of faith. We shall perceive in them a desire to avoid curious and unprofitable questions, as well as to leave disputed points to the judgment of the individual, and undoubtedly several of the articles are so framed that conscientious persons, holding different sentiments, may safely subscribe to them;³ but latitude of interpretation, which is suited to the weak and doubtful, cannot be granted to those whose decided sentiments are at variance with the plain and grammatical sense of the formularies of our church.

§ 326 Among the next objects which engaged the attention of the governors of the church were certain alterations in the Common Prayer Book, the details of which are given in their proper place.⁴ They consisted chiefly in the omission of superstitious rites which had been continued in the first Liturgy. The Ordination Service, too, was now added, and the whole, thus amended, differs very little from the one at present in use.

In order that the Reformation might be introduced into the hearts of the people, as well as the institutions of the church, six eminent preachers were appointed among his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, two of whom were to reside at court, while the other four made a progress through the country, and, as far as possible, supplied the want of preaching clergymen, a deficiency which was then strongly felt.

§ 327. The use of the mass within her own house had, during the whole of this period, been allowed to the princess Mary, through the connivance of the government and the anxious interference of the emperor, but it was now determined by the council to withdraw this indulgence. Edward, indeed, had always shown a great dislike to its continuance, and had at one time assented to it at the request of Cranmer and Ridley, with tears in his eyes; but the government having now become more fixed, the influence of the emperor had less weight, and they proceeded against one of her chaplains for saying the mass, and confined him in the Tower. The chancellor, with certain others, was sent to try to convince

¹ Strype's *Cranmer*, II xxvii

³ Burnet, ii. 129.

² See § 481.

⁴ See § 745.

her royal highness of her errors, and she appears to have been rather obstinate in her unwillingness to listen to any arguments on the Protestant side of the question, and in refusing to hear Ridley preach. But who can wonder that a continuance of unkind treatment should have confirmed the prejudices and closed the ears of one who, in her own person and that of her mother, had suffered so much from the friends of the Reformation? Who can wonder that human feelings of resentment should have been mingled with a mistaken notion of her duty, and exercised when power was placed in her hands

§ 328 The fall of the duke of Somerset and his execution (A.D. 1552) produced no great effect on the Reformation, he had proved, during his power, a firm and zealous patron of those who promoted it, and his advice and example had co-operated to fix the love of pure and simple Christianity so strongly in his nephew's mind, that his loss was in this particular scarcely felt. There can be little doubt of the injustice of his condemnation, and less with regard to the severity of its execution. His dying speech was full of Christian fortitude and resignation, and casts reflections on no one; but the opinions of the world long attributed his death to the duke of Northumberland, and when, in the beginning of the next reign, that nobleman was led to the scaffold, he was reproached as having been the author of this cruel measure. The virtues of the protector, however conspicuous, were not unmingled with faults. In his greatness he was kind and affable, in his misfortunes always dignified. His military undertakings were generally successful; and while he exhibited himself the undaunted advocate of the oppressed, he ever proved that he was faithful and upright in his transactions. His love for the Reformation had been constant and sincere; but he gained far too great a portion of church property to be deemed disinterested in the share which he had in the destruction of ecclesiastical bodies, nor has the severity which he used towards his brother escaped the censure of historians. In order to alienate the mind of his nephew, many false representations of his criminality seem to have been made, and during the period after his condemnation, great pains were taken to keep the attention of the young king engaged in such amusements as should prevent his thinking of the fate of his uncle.

§ 329. Several bills passed during this session of parliament which were important to the church.¹ One confirmed the alterations which had been made in the Common Prayer Book, and directed ecclesiastical persons to enforce, by severe censures, the attendance on the new service. A second enjoined the observance

¹ Burnet, ii 145.

of such holydays as were retained in the calendar, and ordained that the people should abstain from flesh on fast-days and the Fridays and Saturdays in Lent, but allowance was made for a greater laxity with regard to particular cases, and it was soon found that the exception became the general rule. A third declared the marriage of the clergy to be legal to all intents and purposes; for though this liberty had been conceded by the act passed in 1549,¹ yet the prejudices of the people had set so decided a mark on such of the clergy as took advantage of this allowance, that the children had been considered illegitimate: they were enabled by this act to inherit according to law. Another bill was brought in against simoniacal contracts, but it never received the royal assent, and an attempt made to attain Tonstal, bishop of Durham, was thrown out in the commons, as they would not hear of it unless his accusers might be heard face to face. The duke of Northumberland found this parliament so little suited to his views, that he determined to dissolve it and call another.

§ 330. The plan of reform for ecclesiastical courts was this year renewed. It had at first been put into the hands of thirty-two persons, but this number was now diminished to eight, who were to prepare the matter for the larger committee. The chief part of what was done seems to have been the work of Cranmer: it was translated into Latin by Dr Haddon and Sir John Cheke, but during this reign it was never given to the public, nor were any steps taken towards establishing it as law. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was printed, but has remained to the present day in the same unauthorized condition: the consideration of it during the history of that period will for many reasons be most convenient.²

The church had been so profusely robbed of its temporalities, under the idea that its former wealth had produced the greatest part of its previous corruptions, or more probably to gratify the cravings of a corrupt court, that its members were reduced to the greatest misery, and forced to support themselves by the most degrading employments. They not only became tailors and carpenters, but some of them kept even alehouses, and under these circumstances it was impossible that many persons should be educated for the ministry.³ The church of England probably stands alone, in later times, as exhibiting instances of ecclesiastical offices unprovided with any temporal support. some of our livings have no endowments, and owe all their emoluments to periods subsequent to the Reformation. Nor were these spoliations confined to the lower offices in the establishment, the bishopric of

¹ See § 311² See § 435, a³ Burnet, ii. 154.

Gloucester was entirely suppressed, and Hooper, who had been first consecrated bishop of that see, and subsequently held the see of Worcester together with it, was now called bishop of Worcester alone, and in other cases, during the vacancies of the bishoprics, their manors and property were frequently taken from them, so that to the present day nearly one-half of our bishoprics are left with incomes scarcely adequate to the situation in the world which is attached to the episcopal dignity ^(a).

§ 331 (A D 1553) In the new parliament, two tenths and two fifteenths, with one subsidy ^(a) for two years, were granted to the king, and the clergy taxed themselves six shillings in the pound on their benefices. The bishopric of Durham was at the same time suppressed and converted into two sees, one of which was to have been established at Newcastle, where a cathedral chapter was also to have been erected; but none of these changes really took place, on account of the death of the king, which prevented also the accomplishment of another plan, by which the temporalities of that see were converted into a county palatine, and given to the duke of Northumberland. Tonstal had previously been deprived for misprision of treason, and was detained in confinement till the succession of Mary restored him to liberty.

The last act of this reign connected with the Reformation was one by which the use of the larger Catechism was authorized, and schoolmasters directed to teach it. This work was supposed to have been compiled by Ponet ^(b), bishop of Winchester, and is

^(a) This evil has been remedied since the first publication of this work.

^(a) Tenths and fifteenths were temporary aids issued out of personal property, and granted to the king by parliament. They were formerly the real tenth or fifteenth part of all the moveables belonging to the subject. In later times they became a fixed sum. A lay subsidy was usually raised by commissioners appointed by the crown, and was to all intents and purposes a land-tax. Blackstone, i 309, 312.

^(b) Bale, *de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, mentions Ponet as the author, see the question discussed in Todd's *Historical and Critical Introduction to the Groundwork of the Thirty-nine Articles*. This work corresponds in some degree in its general plan with the Church Catechism which had been published four years before, and is followed almost entirely by Noel

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printed in the *Enchiridion Theologicum*. It was originally put forth both in English and Latin, and the Forty-two Articles were appended to it,¹ it was sanctioned by an injunction of the king's dated May 20th, 1553.

§ 332. In consequence of a sermon preached by Ridley before the king, in which the bishop insisted on the duty of relieving the poor, Edward sent for him, and desired his aid in forming such institutions as would be most beneficial to the poorer branches of society. Upon a consultation with the lord mayor three establishments were founded, which are still the glory of our metropolis. St. Baitholomew's hospital was assigned for the sick, the royal house of Bridewell, for the correction of the profligate, and the Gray Friars' church in Newgate was assigned to the education of orphans, under the name of Christ's Hospital. Donations were also made to St Thomas' in Southwark.

§ 333 The commendations which are deservedly bestowed on these munificent grants are not, unfortunately, due to the later acts of this hopeful prince. Lady Jane Grey was granddaughter to Mary, the sister of Henry VIII, who, after the death of her first husband, Louis XII. of France, married the duke of Suffolk. This family had been placed in the bill of succession of Henry VIII. before that of Scotland, though sprung from the younger sister; and the duke of Northumberland now persuaded Edward to set aside Mary and Elizabeth and leave the crown to Lady Jane, to whom her own mother had demised her right, and who had lately been married to Guildford Dudley, the fourth son of the duke. Although the love he bore his cousin might have influenced him, yet the fears which Edward entertained as to the bigotry of Mary were the chief instrument by which this step was promoted, but it does not appear what induced him to set aside Elizabeth. It was necessary to use the greatest threats and persuasions, in order to induce the crown lawyers to draw up any instrument for this purpose, as they declared that such a transaction would amount to nothing short of treason, but they at last complied, upon the promise of a pardon under the great seal, and the council set their hands to the deed. Some others seem to have had great scruples as to subscribing it; but Judge Hales positively refused, and Cranmer only consented upon the earnest entreaty of the king. It is unfortunate that he here wanted firmness to abide by his own better judgment, which might have assured him that the Almighty is able to provide means adequate to the accomplishment of his

chism, 1549, the Second Commandment is inserted in its right place, whereas in the *Primer*, 1535, in Luther's and in Cranmer's, the

Second Commandment is omitted, and the Tenth divided into two. See § 412

¹ § 481, &c

own ends, without our adopting such measures as are in themselves unjustifiable

§ 334 The king's health had long been declining, and on the sixth of July he breathed forth his pious soul in ejaculations for the religious welfare of his poor country. The early age at which it pleased God to take him away contributed in itself to raise his character in the eyes of the world, and the various commendations which are bestowed upon him might appear exaggerated, were they not supported by such circumstantial evidence as prevents us from doubting their correctness. The warmest panegyric of Edward is derived from the pen of Ca'den, who, on his return from Scotland, in 1552, was introduced to that monarch when he was under fifteen years of age. He wrote from Italy after the death of the king, and could have had no object for expressing such sentiments, unless he had really entertained them. He describes Edward as a miracle of prudence and wisdom, and possessed of every qualification which could adorn a young prince, and relates a conversation which he held with him on the subject of comets, in which the king certainly had the advantage over the philosopher. He spoke English, Latin, and French, fluently, and was acquainted with the Greek, Spanish, and Italian languages. He possessed much information on most subjects, particularly on foreign and domestic policy, he kept a journal of all which passed about him, and seems to have been able to transact business with ambassadors, so as to fill them with the greatest admiration for his abilities. He was affable and courteous to all, nor was his kindness confined to words, and in the severity which he was through others compelled to adopt towards heretics, he exhibited the greatest reluctance to proceed to extremities. He has been blamed for the facility with which he assented to the execution of his uncle, yet in all probability he was in this actuated by the love of justice, as his mind had been totally alienated from the protector, through the malicious representations which were industriously poured into his ears, and which insinuated that the duke of Somerset had entertained designs against the lives of the other members of the council. The character, indeed, of this king was founded on the only sure basis, a religious education, which he had the happiness of receiving under the tuition of Cox and Cheke, to whose care he was intrusted from the age of six years. The real and sincere piety which he always exhibited appears in almost every action of his life, it rendered him obedient and docile as a child, just and exact in all his transactions, and as he grew up to govern others as well as himself, rendered him tender to the wants and consciences of his fellow-creatures. The only exception perhaps to this, consisted in the zeal which he showed in trying to prevent his sister Mary from

attending mass ¹ He deemed the celebration of this supposed sacrifice an act of idolatry, and considered himself, therefore, bound by the law of God to prevent the continuance of it when urged by Cranmer and Ridley to consent to its being tolerated in compliance with the wishes of the emperor, he burst into tears, and declared his willingness to lose his crown and dignities in endeavouring to obey the commandments of the Most High. These good men left him with their eyes full of tears, and as they passed, the archbishop took Cheke by the hand, and said, 'Ah! master Cheke,² you may be glad all the days of your life that you have such a scholar.' Adding, that 'he had more divinity in his little finger than we have in our whole bodies.' More divinity, both in the theory and practice too, and this was owing in a great measure to Cheke's instructions.

§ 335. The church of England had now in its doctrines arrived at nearly its present state, for the changes which have subsequently taken place have corrected some points which were amiss, but scarcely deserve the name of alterations. The real state, however, of its members was far from being settled. The great mass of the common people were still ignorant and vicious, and had received the new ordinances inasmuch as they came from authority, and took off restraints under which they had previously laboured, but they neither understood nor rejoiced in the doctrines of the Reformation, against which their prejudices were excited.³ The upper classes had been bribed into acquiescence in these changes by the robberies committed on church property, in which they had been allowed to share, and though there doubtless existed many sincere friends of the truth, yet society in general can never be expected to take any very active concern in religion, beyond those interests which are politically combined with it. Most of the clergy had complied with what had been done, from fear rather than from any approbation of it, and were ready to turn whenever an opportunity should occur. The measures which had been ordinarily adopted by the reformers, however necessary they may have appeared—and of this, in the present day, we are not fully adequate to pass a judgment—were much more calculated to procure compliance than to produce conviction; add to which, that oppression and depravity of morals seem to have been exceedingly prevalent. This, indeed, was the natural consequence of the forced transfer of property, and the depression of the ecclesiastical courts, which in an age of barbarous ignorance were indispensable to preserve the tone of morality in the country. Had it pleased God to have continued the reign of Edward, these evils would probably

¹ Burnet, ii 171.

² Strype's *Cheke*, 178

³ Strype, *E. M.* III. 1 167, 17, 194, 309

have gradually vanished, or had he been succeeded by a monarch indifferent about religion, England might quickly have relapsed into its former state, and a reconciliation with the church of Rome might have brought back many of the grievances from which the kingdom had been freed, but the ways of the Almighty are inscrutable, and He produced the ultimate establishment of the Reformation by other means than human prudence could foresee

§ 336. It is frequently objected to the church of England, that all her institutions, as established in this reign, depended much more on the civil magistrate than on any ecclesiastical authority. The standard of her faith, and the formularies by which her public services are conducted, were so far settled at this time, that though they have often been reviewed, they have never received any material alterations. If, therefore, the religion, then admitted, were, as it is sometimes called, a parliamentary religion, this stigma must still be attached to our church; and it may be useful to inquire how far the appellation is correct, and how far the existence of this fact may be deemed injurious to us as a spiritual body. Many of the principles on which this question must be decided are detailed in a note on a former chapter,¹ and perhaps it may be assumed, that matters purely temporal should be directed by the civil magistrate alone, that those which are purely spiritual should be left, as far as possible, to the management of the clergy alone, as the ministers of God, and responsible to his tribunal, and that all mixed matters should depend on a combination of these two species of authority. Now, as almost all practical questions are of a mixed nature, and as we can hardly conceive any case purely spiritual, except between an individual and his Maker, we shall only have learnt the nature of the difficulty in question, by laying down these general principles. When we look at the outward circumstances of the case, there can be little doubt that before the commencement of the Reformation far too much power existed in the hands of the clergy, and that the priesthood had assumed an inordinate degree of civil jurisdiction, under the plea of spiritual government. It was natural, therefore, for those who endeavoured to overthrow this anomaly, to fall into the opposite extreme, and while they combated the misuse of such a power, to deny the existence of it altogether. It were to be wished, perhaps, that all bodies corporate should correct themselves, but it must require much external pressure, and much internal wisdom, which shall enable the better members of such a society to effect a general amendment. There was in this case an abundance of external pressure, and though there was much of internal wisdom, yet that wisdom had rather been opened to a few by the perusal of the Scriptures, and the

¹ See § 201, c.

examination of the question, than diffused through the mass, by the gradual extension of knowledge.

§ 337. On one side, therefore, was the truth, supported by the strength which it must always possess, and favoured by those who were placed in the highest stations, both in state and church, and supported by a party formidable from their number, and respectable from their attainments. On the other, were the ignorance of the people and their prejudices, but this was aided by the interested views of the clergy, who were scattered through every village, and possessed a force which was by no means balanced by the selfishness of a few courtiers, who had profited by the spoliation of the church. The courtier cared little for the establishment of one religion or another, provided he could secure his wealth, but the village pastor and his partisans were led to esteem the cause which they advocated as the cause of God, and formed a tremendous phalanx, which might be directed to the most dangerous undertakings. Whoever, therefore, attempted to guide the cause of the Reformation, during the reign of Edward VI., must either have waited for the slow development of Christian education, and the falling off by death of those who opposed his plans, or he must have exerted an external force, which might overthrow the immediate power of his opponents, and the question of employing the one or the other of these means could hardly have admitted of debate, when the health of the king and the opinions of his successor were taken into the account, nor can we fail to examine with interest the opinions of Cranmer himself, as far as they bear on this point. What is here stated is derived from the answers which he gave to such questions as were proposed to certain divines in 1540,¹ and in which the offices and authority of the priesthood are examined. From hence it would appear that his own sentiments were nearly Erastian. He seems to esteem the whole of the clerical office as dependent entirely on the civil magistrate;² that there was originally no difference between a bishop and a priest;³ that the prince or the people might make a priest for themselves,⁴ for whom no consecration was necessary,⁵ and that the power of excommunication depends entirely on the civil authority committed to a bishop.⁶ It may be remarked that these opinions are not discoverable in the formation of our church services, which are almost entirely taken from those of the Roman ritual, yet a trace of them remains in those articles which refer to the church, and among which Art. XIX. XXI. and XXIII. might be subscribed by any one who held opinions purely Erastian.

§ 338. With these views, therefore, and placed under these

¹ *Barnet*, I. m. *Rec.* No. 21

⁴ *Qu.* 11.

² *Qu.* 9.

⁵ *Qu.* 12.

³ *Qu.* 10.

⁶ *Qu.* 16

circumstances, we can hardly be surprised if in his proceedings he leaned towards the civil authority, which was in great measure under his own direction. His plan of proceeding generally was to entrust the task of reforming any particular branch of church matters to a committee of divines appointed by the crown, sometimes on the ground of the ecclesiastical supremacy, and sometimes under an act of parliament, and then to sanction the result by a fresh bill, or by publishing it under the royal authority. This method of proceeding may be esteemed very unconstitutional with regard to the convocation, but if the supreme authority be lodged in the civil magistrate, in him too must be vested the power of finally approving or rejecting all regulations with regard to the service of the church. The Prayer Book was framed by clergymen, and the act of uniformity enjoined that in those churches where the ministry was supported by the church property this service should be used, and the only real hardship seems to consist in this, and those individuals who disapproved of it were not allowed any Christian liberty of absenting themselves from the churches, and of seeking elsewhere a service better suited to their own opinions. To say that the country would have become Mahomedan,¹ if the court had enjoined it, is to assert what can neither be proved nor disproved. The alterations were imposed by the civil authority, and many persons received them with great unwillingness, but this might have been equally the case had they been imposed by some ecclesiastical power alone, and if the support of the crown had been required merely to enforce the mandates of the spiritual tribunal. The exertion, therefore, of a temporal power cannot vitiate the enactment itself, and the propriety or impropriety of it must depend on its intrinsic merits. It must be acknowledged that great severity and injustice were used towards some churchmen, particularly towards Gardiner and Bonner, but this cannot invalidate the orthodoxy of those changes in doctrine or discipline to which they as individuals objected. It is as absurd for a Roman Catholic to reject the tenets of the church of England because they were imposed by act of parliament, as it would be for a Protestant to discard the truths of Christianity because they have been derived to us, accompanied with errors, through the church of Rome. Every change introduced into the church of England must receive its final sanction in precisely the same way: nor does there appear to be any solid reason why the laity, who possess a strong interest in everything connected with the service of the church, should not exercise an influence in its being adopted or rejected.

¹ Strype's *Annals*, III n. 368, No 54.

§ 339. These observations, however, will hardly apply to the commissions which were granted to the bishops. If the existence of a Christian priesthood be derived from God, surely the civil magistrate cannot have any other power over it than that of preventing spiritual authority from being applied to temporal purposes. It may limit the use of it with regard to public ministrations, but if the authority of Cranmer were entirely human, if when he was ordained to the ministry the act depended solely on the commission from the king, it seems unnecessary to reason about different forms of church government, or to contend for the sacred character of the ministers of the Gospel, there is really no such thing as a priesthood. Many parts of the episcopal authority are essentially derived from the crown, but there is something beyond this which is derived from God, and this measure can by no means be approved of, if any of the principles on which we have been reasoning be admitted. Granting, however, that the commissions were totally false in the principle on which they depended, this fact cannot invalidate the acts of those who held a real episcopal character under a false idea, and it is evident that the chief part of the bishops of that period, however they might be forced to act under these commissions, entertained opinions on the ecclesiastical functions corresponding with those which have been here laid down. Nor, on the other hand, supposing that the correctness of all which was done were clearly established, does it follow that the so doing it was either politic or judicious, and Cranmer may not only have used severity towards those who opposed him, but have adopted steps which cannot be justified—may have virtually forced the consciences of the weak in hastily imposing on them those changes which would have been adopted quietly, or gradually modified, had he allowed the progress of opinion to follow its natural course.

§ 340 In order to judge of the foundation on which this charge is raised, we may inquire what would have been the result of such a proceeding? Were there no hasty spirits who would have borne down not only the errors of Romish superstitions, but the decencies, too, of public worship which we have derived from Rome? Was there no necessity of issuing proclamation after proclamation against those who were eager to innovate and to destroy every vestige of whatever had been once misused? Compare what took place in Scotland with the events in England. Do we owe no gratitude to those who, when the tide of Reformation seemed likely to overbear the limits of moderation, endeavoured to guide and direct its course by the force of legal enactments? The active friends of Reformation restrained their own zeal when the work was carried on by those in authority; but could Cranmer or

any one else have successfully opposed this torrent² and can we imagine that he himself would have been able to introduce these more quiet alterations, had he failed to exert his temporal influence² The friends of the church of Scotland may rejoice that no moderate reformer stepped forward from among their bishops to modify the violence of those who overthrew the whole of what had been long established, but the admirer of our episcopal church must, under God, thank Cranmer that his parliamentary interference saved our apostolic establishment from the rude hands of ignorant reformers, who in their zeal for re-establishing the religion of the Bible, cast off the innocence of the dove and the prudence of the serpent. Nothing but these rapid proceedings, founded on the temporal power which he possessed, and which he exerted in reforming what was amiss, could have prevented others from withstanding all attempts at amendment, till the force of the multitude had, as in Scotland, thrown down what the episcopalian will consider as almost the church itself So far, then, from blaming the archbishop for his manner of reforming by legislative enactments, we must consider that the existence of our establishment in its present apostolical form is owing to this very circumstance

§ 341. In examining how much the Reformation in England was affected by the opinions entertained by the divines of the Lutheran or Calvinistic schools, it should be remembered that the fame and notoriety of the reformer of Geneva was little spread at the period when the authoritative documents of the church of England were published, and that these productions were directed against the errors of the Roman church, rather than intended to mark the differences which might exist among Protestants At a later period the sentiments of Calvin undoubtedly affected in a great degree the opinions of individual divines of our church, but the formularies which distinguish us as a Christian community had no reference to the theology of Geneva, and are derived in a great degree from the Lutherans^(a)

We have before seen that Henry VIII was particularly anxious that Melancthon should visit England, and the same proposal was made to that reformer from Cranmer in the reign of Edward VI ; but this object was never accomplished. He appears to have been consulted in 1535 concerning the Articles which were published during the next year, and the definition of *justification* there given

(a) This question, as far as relates to those articles of our church which are sometimes deemed Calvinistic, is most ably handled by Archbishop Laurence, in his *Bampton Lectures*, who proves clearly that they are drawn from Lutheran sources. In-

deed, the controversy on the predestinarian question only began in Oct 1551, Calvin's first tract was published in 1552, and the dispute was continued for many years.—Laurence's *Bamp. Lect.* 237.

is probably derived from the *loci communes* of this author. in the whole of these articles the ideas and language of the Lutheran divines have been closely followed. Many of the Forty-two Articles owe their origin to the same source,¹ and even those which cannot be traced with certainty exhibit a correspondence with the general opinion of the German divines. An exception, however, must be made with regard to one article, in which Cranmer differed totally from them, and which is strongly marked by the clause against consubstantiation, or ubiquitarianism, which existed in the Article on the Lord's Supper in the Forty-two Articles, but which was omitted in the reign of Elizabeth (^b), it may, however, be worth remarking that Cranmer was called a Zuinglian, and not a Calvinist, by Fox, as entertaining this opinion. Some of the points in which the Common Prayer Book differs from the services of the Roman church are derived from the reformed service of Herman, archbishop of Cologne,² and others owe their origin to the Liturgy of Strasburg, which was framed by Calvin,³ but had been modified before it was published in England.

§ 342 If this examination of the question should surprise those who generally esteem the authoritative documents of the church of England original compositions, if it shall seem to detract from the value which is generally attached to the labours of Archbishop Cranmer and his colleagues, let it be remembered that the sacred subject on which these works were drawn up is the only one in which originality is the worst of faults. If the heathen philosopher wisely grounds the truth of his conclusions on the fact that they do not materially differ from the opinions of previous investigators, surely the Christian, who is employed in framing articles of faith, may reasonably declare that he has only quitted the tenets of his predecessors where he found them inconsistent with the revealed word of God.

At the commencement of the Reformation in England our reformers naturally cast their eyes on two standards of faith, on that of the church of Rome and that of the Lutheran churches, which had already discarded the errors of the papal court. The rule, then, which sound reason would seem to dictate is, that in

(^b) 'For as much as the truth of man's nature requireth, that the body of one and the self-same man cannot be at one time in divers places, but must needs be in some one certain place, therefore the body of Christ cannot be present, at one time, in many and divers places. And because (as holy Scripture doth teach)

Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe, or openly to confess the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper'—Art 29 of the XLII, and 28 of the XXXIX

¹ See § 481, &c.

² See § 744, a

³ See § 745, b

those points wherein the church of England found it necessary to differ from that of Rome, it should refer to the opinions of the newly-established churches, and follow them as far as they were consistent with Scripture, and where that which was taught by the Lutherans appeared to be questionable, the church of England should either borrow the expression of its opinions from some other reformed church, or construct its own articles directly from the word of God. And this appears to be the plan on which these documents in our own church were framed. In our Articles are contained the great truths of Christianity, which we hold in common with the church of Rome, there are many more which are derived from the Lutheran church, there are some in which we differ from both. In our public services the greater part of the Common Prayer Book is taken from the Roman ritual, and some portions are borrowed from the Lutheran churches, or rather drawn up in imitation of them.

It may indeed be asked why our reformers did not at once leave the works of others which had been so generally mixed up with errors, why they did not seek at once the standard of their faith, and the formularies which were to guide them in their prayers from the unerring rule of the word of God? But such a question will be asked by those only who are little aware of the difficulties which attend such an undertaking. Standards of faith are only necessary on account of the heresies into which mankind have run, and must be drawn with reference to such heresies. To modify, therefore, the previous labours of those who have gone before us in detecting and restraining error, is not only an easier and safer plan, but it is one which is much more consistent with Christian modesty. The word of God in this case does not immediately furnish the adequate means of preventing errors, for both parties often assume the word of God to be with them, and the only question is as to the interpretation which we ought to assign to it. The form in which we address the throne of grace is of less importance, the real question is, as to that for which we ask. When, therefore, the country has been used to one form, it would be injudicious to change it further than the errors contained in such a composition absolutely demand, and in those points where alteration was necessary, true wisdom would lead us to imitate what has already been adopted by our Christian brethren, and of which they have testified their approval by continuing its use.

With this view of the subject, there is every reason for applauding the conduct of Archbishop Cranmer, and admiring our own standards, because they so nearly resemble the works of the same sort which preceded them, and to rejoice that the documents of our church are not new, but amended transcripts of those which our forerunners have established.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REIGN OF MARY I FROM JULY 6, 1553, TO
NOVEMBER 17, 1558

351 Lady Jane Grey 352 Mary seated on the throne, her promises
 353 Gardiner's plans 354 Mary prepares to restore popery 355
 Parliament 356 Cardinal Pole, legate, delayed on his journey towards
 England 357 Convocation 358 Disputation held in it 359.
 Wyatt's rebellion, executions 360. Ejection of the married clergy
 361 Disputations at Oxford 362 Confession of faith of the Reformers
 published 363 Marriage of the queen 364 Reconciliation with
 Rome 365 Preparations for persecution 366 Persecutions. 367.
 Disputes among the Reformers in England and abroad 368 Death of
 Gardiner 369 Steps in favour of the church 370 Death and char-
 acter of Cranmer 371 Many others suffer 372. Pole, archbishop of
 Canterbury, documents destroyed 373 Visitation of the universities
 374 Paul IV enraged with Pole, disasters of the nation, persecutions.
 375 Deaths and characters of Mary and Pole

§ 351 THE sentiments which Mary was known to entertain with regard to religion induced some persons to question for a short time her title to the succession, of the justice of which there could be no real doubt. These same fears had formerly induced many of the council to assent to the measure adopted in the will of Edward, and now co-operated in making them try to promote this illegal settlement, and to advance the ambitious plans of him who had devised it. The absurd power granted by parliament to Henry VIII. of naming his successors in his will, had rendered the order of inheritance less clearly defined in the minds of those about the court, and many of them imagined that the bequest of Edward was equally binding in law with that of his father.

Of Lady Jane Grey,¹ to whom the crown was now offered by her father and father-in-law, the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the brightest expectations were entertained, and her only fault seems to have been, that she allowed her own better judgment to be influenced by the solicitations of her friends. She had received a classical education under the care of Dr. Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London, and taken such advantage of his instructions, and the philosophy of our holy faith, that she was prepared for either the crown or the scaffold.

§ 352. The good sense and loyalty of the nation quickly rendered her case desperate, while the unpopularity of the duke of

¹ Burnet, ii 174.

Northumberland contributed greatly to strengthen the party of Mary, the friends, therefore, of the queen became daily more powerful, were joined by the council, and she was proclaimed throughout London on the 19th of July. Within a few days, the chief of her enemies were sent to the Tower, and she remained in quiet possession of the throne. The only point in which she seems at this period of her reign to have acted culpably was in an assurance given by her that she would force no one's religion.

This promise was made to the Suffolk men, who, being friendly to the reformed doctrines, joined her standard from a sense of duty; whereas her known love to the papacy renders it probable that from the first she was determined to pursue steps which could not be carried on without breaking the pledge given to those who supported her. The promise was repeated publicly on the 12th of August before the council,¹ and on the 18th by a proclamation but in both these cases a tacit reservation seems to be made in the prospect of some alteration in the law of the land. From her general conduct, we can hardly conceive her to have been insincere when she made it, but she must have been very weak and ignorant to suppose that the wishes of her heart could be accomplished without falsifying such a declaration.

§ 353. The government was now under the direction of Gardiner, who was in many respects a politic man, and understood the temper of the country.² His plan was to have restored everything connected with religion to the state in which it had been left by Henry VIII, and thus by degrees to have brought back the kingdom to a reconciliation with the court of Rome. This scheme favoured his own private views, as well as the public objects towards which it was directed, and had it been temperately pursued might have led to the re-establishment of the papacy in England, by slower, yet surer steps, than those which were adopted, while it would have freed the chancellor from some alarm which he could not but feel, at the prospect of the speedy arrival of Cardinal Pole, who never trusted him, and who was from many circumstances likely to gain an influence over the queen inconsistent with the interests of Gardiner. These prospects, however, of moderation, and the hopes which her declarations had infused into the reformers, were soon dissipated, for the early acts of the reign were strongly marked with precipitancy as well as severity.^(a) Bonner³ proceeded to take possession

(a) Mass was said in London at St. Nicholas', August 21 (Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* v. 34). Mountain was persecuted by Gardiner for celebrating the communion before the service had been changed (p. 104). Mass was celebrated at the opening of Parliament (57).

¹ Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* 38. Fox, iii. 14.

³ Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* v. 27.

² Burnet, ii. 180.

of his see (August 5th) without any legal revocation of the sentence by which he had been deprived; and the intemperance of Bourn, his chaplain, who preached soon after at St. Paul's Cross, produced such a tumult, that the life of the preacher was endangered, and only preserved by the interference of some of the Protestant divines

§ 354 In consequence of this, all sermons were prohibited till licences had been given under the great seal to such persons only as were likely to spread the doctrines of the church of Rome; and a commission was issued for the purpose of setting aside the deprivations of those bishops who had been ejected, so that every measure seemed rapidly tending to the re-establishment of the ancient order of things. It became apparent, too, that the church was the object which predominated in the mind of the queen, who, in promoting the interests of Rome, forgot those ties by which human beings are most closely connected. She used cruelty towards one of the Suffolk men, who intemperately reminded her of her promise with regard to religion, and imprisoned Judge Hales, who had strongly advocated her cause against the pretensions of Lady Jane Grey, because he urged the magistrates in Kent to put in force the laws of Edward which were still unrepealed. These were but sad prospects for the friends of the Reformation, and they began to prepare themselves for the struggle. The foreigners who had been established in this country were now dismissed, and many of the English clergy gradually fled beyond sea, to preserve their lives for better times, and to enjoy that liberty of conscience in a distant land which they could no longer hope for at home. But the more exalted members of the church, whose situations held them up as examples to their flocks, notwithstanding that they were advised to fly, remained at their posts, ready to serve God by suffering in his cause, as well as to worship him in safety, and in the sunshine which the favour of the court shed around their pious exertions. Hooper and Coverdale repaired before the council when summoned, and Cranmer, since it was maliciously reported that he was ready to concede everything, drew up a protest ^(a) against the mass, which was unfortunately circulated before it was finished for publication, and when he could not deny that he was the author of it, he was by the council committed to the Tower, on the charge of high treason.

§ 355. In the parliament which was assembled October 5, the marriage of Henry and Catharine was confirmed, an object which the queen had much at heart, and which Gardiner had promised to procure, but he of all men was the least fit to be the agent in such a transaction, who had been most active in procuring the divorce,

(a) This letter is printed at length in Strype's *Cranmer*, 437.

and had been joined in the commission by which the marriage had been declared void. The acts of the last reign relating to religion were at once annulled, and severe penalties imposed on those who interfered with the performance of any sacred function. In the act of attainder against the Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Cranmer was comprehended, and though his see was now legally void, yet he was still regarded as archbishop by those who wished to uphold the ecclesiastical exemptions, and to proceed against him on other grounds

§ 356. In consequence of some private communications between Mary and the court of Rome, Cardinal Pole was appointed legate, with full powers for the reconciliation of the kingdom, and immediately commenced his journey towards England, but he was stopped on the way, through the interference of Gardiner, who represented to the emperor the danger of so precipitate a step, which might probably prevent the marriage between Philip and Mary (an object to which the attention of Charles was now directed), and create a fermentation in the country, very prejudicial to the interests of the queen. A suspicion is suggested by Burnet, that she herself was influenced by more tender motives, in requesting that the legatine commission might be entrusted to the cardinal, hoping that he might obtain a dispensation to marry her, as he was only a deacon, but the tale rests on very slight foundation, and had Gardiner been aware of such a wish on the part of Mary, he would probably have fostered an arrangement which must have left the prospect of the see of Canterbury open to his own ambitious views. The queen sent a messenger to the legate while he remained in Germany, to state the progress which she had made in the cause of the church of Rome, and desired him not to proceed to England till further notice. The wisdom of this delay was very apparent, for the nation was generally adverse to the two measures in which the court was now engaged. The parliament had conceded every point with regard to religion, as far as it was unconnected with politics, but they were anxious that the crown of England should not be deprived of the spiritual supremacy which it had acquired, and abominated the idea of becoming an appendage to the Spanish monarchy. So strong indeed was the general feeling against the match with Spain, that a deputation of the speaker and twenty members of the House of Commons waited on the queen to deprecate any thoughts of a marriage with a foreigner but instead of producing the desired effect, the parliament itself was dissolved, and the enormous sum of twelve hundred thousand crowns was said to have been entrusted to Gardiner by Philip, in hopes that the enemies of the marriage might be bought off from their opposition.

§ 357 In order to give freedom of discussion to the convocation which was now called,¹ an act of parliament was previously passed, repealing the statutes of Henry VIII which rendered all persons who joined in framing canons without the royal permission liable to a *præmunire*, a penalty which must have subjected the ecclesiastical authority to the civil power, and not only have offended the prejudices of a Roman Catholic, but have tended, too, to limit the privileges of the church. Weston, dean of Westminster, was appointed prolocutor, a man much looked up to on account of the firmness which he had exhibited in the former reign. Its first act was directed against the Common Prayer, which it denominated an abominable book, and declared to be heretical, on account of the denial of transubstantiation which it contained. The same stigma was also affixed to the Catechism (*), said to be set forth by order of convocation. These steps produced a warm discussion in the lower house, but of the proceedings of the bishops no record remains. Care had been taken that among the proctors elected by the clergy such men alone should be found as favoured the prevailing cause, but of those who sat in right of the situations which they held in the church,² six were found bold enough to controvert the sentiments of the ruling party, and to enter into a disputation against the power and numbers with which they found themselves surrounded. At this disputation many of the council were present, from whom, during the heat of the discussion, when the arguments of the Protestants were borne down by the clamour of the majority, they received more liberty of expressing their sentiments than their ecclesiastical opponents would have allowed, but from the commencement, for it lasted three days, it was apparent that this bold minority could entertain little hope of obtaining a fair hearing, Weston indeed declared that they were assembled, not to call in question the undoubted truth of transubstantiation, but to answer the objections of those who refused to subscribe to this undeniable proposition. And so manifest were the difficulties against which the friends of the Reformation had to contend, that when they were refused the assistance of Rogers and Ridley, most of the six declined entering on the question, and were only drawn into the debate by degrees, in supporting Cheyney, who would not avoid the contest under every disadvantage.

§ 358. Discussions of this public nature have but little effect, except perhaps the evil one of warming the passions by connecting human vanity with sacred truth, but we cannot fail to admire the bold zeal of men who ventured to stem the torrent of virulence

(*) See § 331.

¹ Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* v. 59

² Fox's *Acts and Mon.* iii. 16.

and persecution, merely to convince the bystanders of the goodness of their cause, and in this point of view their exertions probably even now produced some good effect, for at the close, when the house was asked whether sufficient answers had not been given to the objections of the reformers, and the clergy were ready in the affirmative, the multitude who stood around instantly vociferated, No! no! The reformers had found themselves treated with so little fairness, that they refused to become the respondents, and the whole argument was summed up by a remark of Weston's, which briefly stated the merits of the controversy. 'You have the word,' said he, 'but we have the sword.' An observation calculated to show the erroneous principles assumed by the church of Rome, as well as to display the cruelty of the individual. Men vested with unlimited power are generally the same in all communions, and the friends of the papacy cannot hope to be more fortunate in this respect than other Christian bodies, and wherever the infallibility of the church is asserted, then farewell to truth and to every hope of obtaining it, since it becomes the duty of those vested with authority, not to enter into any discussions, by which reformation may be promoted, or truth elicited, but to curb with the severe mandates of autocracy the idea of calling in question any of its tenets; and these words of the prolocutor, harsh as they may appear to a Protestant ear, become the language of sincerity, when proceeding from the mouth of a consistent Roman Catholic, who allows not the possibility of salvation beyond the limits of his own church.

§ 359 (A.D. 1554) The Spanish connexion was so much disliked by the nation in general, that though the court of Madrid granted terms absurdly beneficial to the English crown, it was followed by a rebellion. The ramifications of this plot were numerous, but the discovery of one branch, which in the west of England was conducted by Sir Peter Carew, proved destructive to the rest. He himself fled, but the unwise duke of Suffolk just did so much as to incur the crime of treason, without benefiting the cause which he espoused, and the only one of the leaders who made any movement in the affair was Sir Thomas Wyatt in Kent, whose rebellious forces, after some trifling successes, were dispersed, and he himself taken prisoner at Temple Bar. The practical effect of this injudicious and unwarrantable proceeding was to strengthen the hands of the queen, and to give her an opportunity of using severity on the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey and her husband. Mary behaved with great courage and propriety throughout the whole period of danger, and never removed from Whitehall, nor can we venture to blame her for the execution of these young persons, who had been guilty of treason, notwithstanding the palliations

which may be urged in their favour. And though we cannot help pitying the early fate of one so young and lovely, yet the Christian spirit with which she died is much more calculated to raise our admiration, and to excite us to the imitation of such studies and pursuits as enabled a woman about seventeen years of age to meet death with tranquillity and resignation. We may remember, too, that she suffered for a crime into which the ambition of her relations had hurried her against her wishes and her conscience. The duke of Suffolk, Wyat, and fifty-four others were executed, and a large number ^(a) of the common people were forced to beg their lives with halters about their necks. Elizabeth was confined, and the proceedings were generally severe, particularly in fining the jury which had acquitted Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

§ 360 Strengthened by the discomfiture of this rebellion, Mary commenced the work of anti-reformation. The first act was to publish articles of directions for the bishops in their proceedings against the friends of the opposite party, and the chief object of attack was the marriage of the clergy, of which the parliamentary sanction had been annulled in the general repeal of King Edward's laws. But even those who quitted their wives were ejected from their preferments, and the whole was carried on under a commission from the queen as supreme head of the church, a title which she did not care to assume, except to expel the reformed clergy from their benefices. The bishoprics of York, St. David, Chester, and Bristol, were declared void on account of the marriage of those who held them, and Lincoln, Hereford, and Gloucester, on the plea that they were held by royal patent, upon the good behaviour of the possessors, a condition which it was alleged these bishops had manifestly not fulfilled.

Accidental circumstances produced many other vacancies, so that, with the restoration of deprived bishops, there was at this period an alteration of sixteen out of the bench. The number of priests who were now ejected, though variously stated and perhaps exaggerated, was in all probability considerable. The whole proceeding must be regarded as arbitrary, and more tyrannical and illegal than what had been done with regard to Bonner and Gardiner, for these married priests had formed the connexion under the authority of the law of the land, and without violating any promise to the contrary made at ordination, since it appears that the oath used in England, in that service, was conceived in such terms as did not interfere with the chastity of the marriage bed ;

(a) This number is variously stated. Burnet makes it 600, Holinshed, 400, Stow, 240. Gardiner is said to have preached before the queen on the 11th, the day before Lady Jane's execution, and to have urged her not to show mercy (Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* v. 140, 145).

yet when the new act abrogated the previous concession, the alternative of compliance was not offered, but they were at once deprived of their preferments many indeed were subsequently admitted to other benefices, but this, though it diminished the hardship, did not obviate the evils inseparable from considerable changes,¹ and the rapidity with which this was effected unsettled the minds of the people in general as to the distinctions of right and wrong; an observation which applies to the whole of the present alterations in religion

§ 361. Every one had during the late reign sworn to the supremacy of the king. When, therefore, they now found themselves obliged to renounce this oath, and were absolved from it, they learnt to despise the sanctity of promises, and the clergy, who should have been the firmest in the observance of so sacred a bond, were the first to take advantage of any means by which they might escape from it, and in order to conceal the baseness of their conduct, introduced abundance of hypocrisy, frequently adapting their professions to the sentiments of the individuals whose approbation they sought. But the council confined not itself to these less conspicuous victims, and steps were taken to prepare the way for more important proceedings. A public disputation was held at Oxford, on April 16, in which, on three successive days, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were exposed to the arguments and insults of certain opponents, who were armed with full authority from convocation, and backed by the applauding clamours of the ignorant and prejudiced clergy^(a), and in their conduct on this occasion these martyrs perhaps showed as much patient endurance, as in the torments to which they were subsequently exposed; for it may fairly be questioned whether the overbearing dogmatism of such a tribunal were not more difficult to be encountered with Christian meekness, than any bodily pains which could be inflicted, and which were to be borne as inevitable sufferings in a righteous cause.

§ 362. To enter into the details of such a transaction would exceed the limits of this work, and the force of the whole would be lost by such abridgment as would be necessary. They may be found at length in Fox, from whence they are copied into Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, suffice it to say, that the triumph of the Roman Catholic party was, as might have been anticipated,

(a) The previous steps taken by Gardiner, at Magdalene College (Fuller, viii p 7), may enable us to account in some measure for the little favour which was extended to

these eminent martyrs by members of the university. All the friends of the Reformation had probably been driven away (Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* v. 81).

¹ Strype's *Cranmer*, III ix. 476.

complete, and that the three prisoners, when condemned by their earthly judges, appealed to the righteous decision of the tribunal of heaven; upon which Weston declared that if they went to heaven, he was persuaded that he should never come there. The treatment which had been experienced by the bishops at Oxford induced the prisoners in London to decline any public disputations. In this they were probably wrong, for however little fairness^(a) they could expect, still the example and effect of bearing patiently, for the cause of truth, insults as well as death, must always prove the sincerity of that faith on which their reliance was placed. In order that their real belief might be known, the reformers who were in prison published a confession of faith consisting of eight articles,¹ in which they declared that they received the Scriptures as the word of God, that they admitted the Catholic creeds of the first four centuries, believed in justification by faith, and rejected the use of the Latin tongue in the church service, the invocation of saints, purgatory, the mutilation of the Lord's Supper, transubstantiation, and the adoration of the elements, and asserted the lawfulness of marriage to every order of men on these points they offered to dispute, if called on by proper authority.

§ 363 The marriage of the queen, though it produced a short calm for those who had offended against the civil power, does not appear to have obtained the same favour for any who were persecuted for religion, and Philip, though he probably saved the life of Elizabeth from the suspicious severity of her sister, and obtained the pardon of several who were condemned, procured for himself little kindness from the English, who were justly offended at the proceedings of the court, the changes which were daily making in religion, and the political and personal connexion into which the queen had herself entered. These feelings were not at all diminished by the vindictive spirit with which Mary punished those who had spread malicious reports concerning herself, nor did the violent conduct of Bonner, during his visitation, tend to diminish the general indignation and disgust of the nation. The Protestants vented their ill-humour in deriding and ridiculing the superstitions of the Romish church, the Roman Catholics exerted themselves in establishing the most objectionable parts of their rites, regardless of the feelings of men who were already exasperated, and every step served but to add virulence to the persecutions which soon began to be exercised.

(a) One of the strongest evidences against the sincerity of the opponents to the Protestant disputants is, that they deprived the champions of the reformers of all books, or the means of preparing themselves by writing or study (*Protestatio Ridlen*, 53, 55, *Ench. Theol.*).

¹ Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* v. 1 224, No. 17.

§ 364 The autumn was chiefly occupied by the steps towards a reconciliation with the church of Rome. One of the first acts of the parliament which was assembled in November was to repeal the attainder of Cardinal Pole, who in the meantime had been allowed to proceed to England; and within a few days after his arrival the nation was absolved upon the request of the two houses, and once more received into the bosom of the papal church; the acts which had of late years passed against the authority and jurisdiction of the papacy were repealed, and everything but the church lands restored to their former condition. The convocation had made a petition that this point might not be pressed, convinced that the spoilers would never surrender their prey, and, to use their own words, preferring the salvation of souls to their own private interest. But the answer of the cardinal excited the most lively fears among the 'detainers' of ecclesiastical lands by inveighing strongly against such sacrilege (*), while from necessity he sanctioned the adoption of the law. As an intermediate step, the Statute of Mortmain was repealed for twenty years, so that the church was enabled to receive the donations which the fears or piety of the nation might be induced to bestow upon it. But the bull published by Paul IV. in the next year, which virtually annulled all these acts of the legate, proved how little faith can be placed in the promises of a power which arrogates to itself the right of absolving the sacred tie which is established by an oath. This parliament had in all probability been greatly bribed, so that little opposition was made to the wishes of the queen and clergy, and Gardiner, whatever may be our opinion of him as a man, showed considerable talents as a politician. The severe acts against heresy were renewed, and others passed, which tended to strengthen the hands in which the administration of affairs was placed.

§ 365 (A.D. 1555.) Before the commencement of the terrible persecution with which this year was disgraced, a question was agitated, as to the manner in which the government should proceed against heretics, nor should it ever be forgotten, that the side of reason and mercy found its advocate in Cardinal Pole. Gardiner, whose opinions were at variance with these milder plans, had suffered much under the reign of Edward, and his politic mind showed him that nothing short of the severest measures could then have reduced the nation to its former dependence on the authority of the pope. add to which, that there existed a strong feeling of

(*) He bade them consider the judgments of God, which fell on Belshazzar, for his profanely using the

holy vessels, though they had not been taken away by himself, but by his father.

personal antipathy between the chancellor and those who were now subjected to his power, and these evil passions were strongly excited by the republication at Strasburg of his own book, in which he had advocated the cause of the divorce, and heaped many reproachful expressions on the mother of the queen, a very delicate piece of vengeance, of which he could not but be very sensible.

The feast of reconciliation with the church of Rome, which was established by the cardinal (Jan 25), was followed by the persecution of men whose only crime consisted in their refusing to subscribe to doctrines which they had previously rejected, and from which they had been zealously trying to turn away their brethren. In order to give effect to this step, and that the state of the reformed part of the population might be correctly ascertained, it was ordered, in the instructions given by Cardinal Pole, that books should be kept by the bishops and their officials, in which the names of those who had been reconciled to the church of Rome might be inserted, and that processes might be instituted against the rest,¹ a measure which, had it been carried into effect with any activity, must have constituted an inquisition the most formidable that was ever established, inasmuch as the previous state of the kingdom had induced men to declare their real sentiments, and to throw aside that caution which is the only safeguard against inquisitorial tyranny.

§ 366 It will be useless to record more than the names of the chief reformers who perished in the flames (some particulars shall be added in Appendix F), for records of this description lose their whole force and beauty by being abridged, and if they are to benefit us by their perusal, they must be examined in all the details of the original historians. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield, Hooper at Gloucester, Saunders at Coventry, and Taylor at Hadley. Gardiner was disappointed with the effect of these executions, for judging of the influence of fear from himself, he had miscalculated on the power of terror in the cause of religion. Nothing but extreme severity could possibly have put down the flame which was now kindled; but the public exhibition of those who so patiently suffered, animated others to the struggle, and led the friends of the papacy to mistrust the doctrines of a church which used for its support means so diabolical.

The general feeling of disgust which was excited by these severities,² was fostered by a book in the form of a petition against persecution, published abroad, and sent over into this country by the reformers; and though the king disclaimed any share in these

¹ Strype's *Cranmer*, 498.

² Strype's *Ann.* i. 261.

proceedings, and Alphonsus (*),¹ a Spanish friar, ventured to preach against them before the court, yet no effectual stop was put to them, and they were carried on throughout the whole year, during which, four bishops, thirteen priests, and fifty others suffered at the stake. The disappointment with regard to Mary's expected delivery² did not tend to lessen the number of these executions, for it is reported that she had conceived an idea that she should never be brought to bed till all the heretics in prison were burnt. Their deaths, however, did not procure for her the relief for which she looked, and before the end of the year Philip began to neglect her, having given up all hopes of a family, the only circumstance which could have procured for him an influence in the country, and fulfilled the ambitious views with which he had formed the connexion.

§ 367 The steps which were taken to detect and convict heretics had gone very near the establishment of an inquisition, for the justices of the peace were directed to look out some well affected persons in every parish, who might give secret information concerning their neighbours, and the lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to allow the use of torture for the discovery of the truth; and though these instruments were probably applied to the detection of civil as well as ecclesiastical offences, yet where, under a government so earnest in the interests of the church, their introduction had been sanctioned, little could be wanting but the organization of a chamber of inquisitors. The numerous letters of directions and thanks for attending the execution of heretics, which were addressed to the gentry, prove that the civil power, when it became the handmaid of superstitious intolerance, stood in need of every support, lest the unrestrained feelings of the common people should have tempted them to commit acts of violence against a government which was turning the power intrusted to it for the preservation of its subjects, to their destruction, both of body and soul. The prisons were filled with the friends of the Reformation, members of whom were found ready to undergo any sufferings in the cause on which their hopes were fixed.³ Many fled beyond sea, and many more temporized with the civil authority, by publicly attending mass, or entirely renouncing their faith.

But the apostasy of these members is not more painful than

(*) As the subsequent conduct of Philip, and the general character of Alphonsus de Castro (see White's *Evidence against Catholicism*, note G. p 251, 2nd edit.), prevent us from

attributing this measure to Christian charity, their opinion with regard to the impolicy of these severities is at least strongly marked

¹ Strype's *Eccl. Mem* v 333.

² Burnet, vol iii. 174, fol 419, 8vo

³ Strype's *Cranmer*, 501, in III xiv.

the disputes by which these persecuted believers added to their own sufferings. They quarrelled on the subject of freewill and predestination^(a), and in the discussion, unfortunately, some of them fell into Pelagianism nor was the evil confined to this country,¹ but arose also among the English who were scattered on the Continent, and broke out with disgraceful warmth at Frankfort^(b) and other places. Great objections were raised against the

(a) See an account of this dispute in a pamphlet published by Archbishop Laurence. Great offence was taken at some of the prisoners in the King's Bench, for gaming (1554), and they, in defending themselves, maintained strongly the doctrines of election and reprobation, running into Antinomianism, compromises were made, but no solid reconciliation was effected. Bradford wrote a treatise on predestination, which he sent to Oxford, for the approbation of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. The bishop of London alone answered him, but did not approve of the work. The conduct of some of the parties appears to have been disgraceful (*Authentic Documents relative to the Predestinarian Controversy*, 8vo, Oxford, 1819).

(b) There is a full but prejudiced account of the troubles at Frankfort, printed 1575, it was reprinted in 1642, and is contained in the *Phoenix*. vol. ii. Fuller gives a large abstract of it, viii. p. 25, &c. It is highly favourable to the nonconforming party (1554). The magistrates of Frankfort had granted the use of a church to some English fugitives, provided they would comply with a French congregation which had fled there from Glastonbury. These persons altered some portion of the Common Prayer, to adapt the service to that of the other church, and invited the English fugitives to come and join them; this, however, was refused by many (e.g., the churches at Strasburg and Zurich), in consequence of the alteration of the Common Prayer. This dispute continued for some time to distract the church, and Knox and Whittingham, in order to assist their cause, submitted a platform of the Prayer Book to Calvin, who

animadverted on it, as containing many points which were childish and trifling; but their account of the book is obviously unfair, and Calvin could hardly have judged of the question from this imperfect document (He might, however, have seen the book before this time, though the sending the platform seems to imply the contrary). A part of the Geneva service was now introduced, and in consequence of the offence taken at this, another form was composed to be used for a time. In the mean season Cox came to Frankfort, and after some difficulty established the use of the Common Prayer. There were probably faults on both sides. (1557) There was a second dispute about church discipline. Mr. Ashley having been brought before the ecclesiastical authorities for censuring some of the ministers, rejected their authority, as being parties in the dispute. The congregation generally took his part, and attempted to frame new laws for discipline. Robert Horne, dean of Durham, and afterwards bishop of Winchester, was then pastor, and after fruitless attempts at reconciliation on both sides, he ultimately quitted the place.

This church was, in its constitution, under both the old and new discipline, perfectly 'independent'. It consisted of a pastor, assistant elders, who performed in turn the clerical duties, and deacons. They laid down their offices annually, and an election took place, accompanied by imposition of hands. Ordinary members were admitted into communion by making a declaration of faith, and subscribing to the form of discipline, and questions, if any objection were raised against the

Common Prayer Book¹ and the Communion Service, and in this part of the quarrel Knox rendered himself conspicuous.

§ 368. Pole had always been averse to violent persecution, but was unable to show any opposition to it sufficiently strong even to mitigate its severity; for independently of the suspicions which were entertained concerning his own opinions, Gardiner had sent unfavourable reports of his conduct to the apostolic chamber. The end of the latter was now drawing near, and served, but too late, to teach him the vanity of pursuits unconnected with our duty. He had seen the religion which he upheld triumph over its opponents; he had himself been restored, and raised to eminence and power; he had beheld his personal enemies at his feet, and contributed probably to the condemnation of men with whom he had before been connected as a brother bishop, and having scarcely learnt the inutility of those measures to which he had been instrumental, he, too, was called away to answer before the Judge eternal (Nov. 12). He was a shrewd, clever man, and probably much more of a politician than a churchman. The treatment which he had himself received may account for some of his virulence, if it cannot excuse it. nor does he appear to have been totally devoid of kindness towards Protestants: for during his prosperity he screened Sir Thomas Smith and R. Ascham from persecution:² and it must never be forgotten, that he effectually prevented this country from falling under the Spanish yoke at a moment when his personal interests would have induced him to promote a connexion with that court.³ The circumstance which weighs most strongly against his character is the ill opinion which Cranmer always entertained of him, and which would hardly have been the case with one so kind-hearted and forgiving as the archbishop, had he not known him to have been a bad man.

§ 369. In the earlier part of the summer the queen had been engaged in rebuilding the convent of Franciscans at Greenwich, and for the purpose of endowing as many religious houses as she could, gave up all the church lands vested in the crown, and in the end of the year discharged the clergy from the payment of first-fruits and tenths; anxious, no doubt, that the church should be provided for in temporalities, as well as reformed in its discipline. for in the convocation which was held by Cardinal Pole (November 2nd), many constitutions were made, highly beneficial to the

ministers, were ultimately referred to the congregation (*Phœnix*, ii. 125, &c.). In the details of the discipline of this church, we may

see the platform of what was often attempted, and ultimately established during the usurpation.

¹ Strype's *Eccle. Mem.* v. 406, &c.

² Strype's *Life of Smith*, 48, 50.

³ Burnet, ii. 208

ecclesiastical body, in preventing abuses and reforming its members, and which, had they been carried into full execution, must have gone far to establish the Roman Catholic religion, for a time at least, on a firm basis. For errors and faults in practice are so much more obvious to mankind in general than any other species of evil, that whenever strict clerical duty is observed, the mass of the people will be little likely to examine, with any severity, the tenets of their instructors, and will take for granted the soundness of the speculative opinions of men who live with propriety. Nor were the plans of reformation adopted by the cardinal confined to mere discipline, for he proposed to have reformed the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man^(a), and to have published it, as well as a translation of the New Testament, and to have established cathedral schools.

§ 370 (A D 1556.) One of the earliest acts of this year was the degradation and burning of Cranmer. He had been condemned on the 12th of September preceding, and afterwards summoned to appear before the pope while he was detained a prisoner in Oxford and when a sufficient period had elapsed to procure an answer from this fictitious tribunal, where his condemnation took place in consequence of his supposed contumacious absence, he was publicly degraded by Bonner and Thirlby, the former of whom added the bitterness of personal malice and reproachful words to an office in itself sufficiently distressing. It was indeed peculiarly embarrassing to Thirlby, who had always retained for the archbishop that love and reverence which a long acquaintance with his virtues had justly procured him but the power of inflicting such wounds gratified the bishop of London, that most low of persecutors. The fall of which this good man was subsequently guilty, in signing the recantation, takes off from the whole of the glorious dignity with

(a) This was done by Bonner. The title of the work is, *A Profitable and Necessary Doctrine*, with certain Homilies adjoined thereto, set forth by the Rev Father in God Edmonde bishop of London, &c &c, for the diocese of London, 1555.

The first part is the same work as the Erudition, *mutatis mutandis* e.g., the article on Confirmation is changed, it lays greater stress on the necessity of being confirmed. In the explanation of the Creed, all which opposes the papal supremacy is left out, and that doctrine distinctly stated. In the Sacrament of the Altar the doctrine of the real presence and transubstantiation is taught, but the Ten Command-

ments are still divided in the Protestant manner. The volume next contains injunctions sent to his clergy. Then follow thirteen homilies, said to be done by the bishop and his chaplains, but one or two agree almost entirely with those published by Cranmer; the names of Harpsfield and Pendleton are affixed to some of them. There was another set of homilies published by Bonner in 1558, in number thirty, which are totally different from these, applying peculiarly to the sacraments and the doctrines of the church of Rome, they are sometimes bound up, instead of the former, with the copies of the *Profitable and Necessary Doctrine*.

which the closing scene of the other martyrs was enlightened, but it cannot but afford a useful and consolatory lesson to the Christian of the present day. If one so gifted as Cranmer was inadequate to withstand the influence of kindness and attention when used to mislead him, though he had been before able to view with tranquillity the prospects of death, how careful should we be against the temptations of prosperity! If one who had so fallen was subsequently enabled to meet death with such pious resignation and firmness, what confidence may we place in the grace of God, whose strength is perfected in weakness! The condemnation of this good man to the flames, notwithstanding his recantation, was to him a most fortunate occurrence, for it brought him back to that Christian condition which his concession had lost, but it is peculiarly unfavourable to the character of Mary, for with whatever view we examine it, we can hardly help suspecting that a vindictive spirit was exercised, even if she be acquitted of any personal animosity against one who had played so conspicuous a part in the divorce of her mother. Cranmer exhibited most decidedly the influence of religion on a mind naturally sensible and strong. There was little brilliant in his talents, or commanding in his understanding^(a), yet the sound sense which he possessed made him produce more effect in the Reformation of this country than any other person. Much of this, during the reign of Edward, was owing to the situation which he filled, but few others, unless they had possessed his judgment, his Christian feelings, and simplicity, would have been able to weather the storms to which his bark was exposed during the tumultuous period of the reign of Henry VIII^(b). To him we chiefly owe the Articles of our church, the first book of Homilies, as well as much of the compilation of the Common Prayer. To him we owe one of the brightest examples of a primitive and apostolic bishop; and if in his early days we cannot admire the zeal with which he advocated the divorce, if in his latter end we deplore his fall^(c), let us remember that he was but a human

(a) Dr Laurence (archbishop of Cashel) gives much higher commendations to the talents of Cranmer, and even prefers him to Ridley, the opinion expressed in the text is taken from Burnet—*Bampton Lect* p 205 (11, 12, 13).

(b) Fuller's view of this part of his history is far less favourable (p 371). Cranmer 'had done no ill, and privately many good offices for the Protestants, yet his cowardly compliance hitherto with popery, against his conscience, cannot be excused, serving the times present

in his practice, and waiting on a future alteration in his hopes and desires'

(c) The six confessions or recantations made by Cranmer are curious in pointing out the imperceptible steps by which he was led on from one point to another, till he gave up and renounced almost all that he had ever taught, and assented directly to the errors of the church of Rome. Five of these are in Strype's *Ecc Mem* v 392, &c, the other in Fox, iii 559.

being like ourselves, and that the blessings of which he was the instrument all proceed from a heavenly Source, to which our gratitude is chiefly due.

§ 371. These victims, however, did not satisfy the friends of religious intolerance, for the fires of persecution were lighted throughout the country, and the persons who suffered in them were chiefly taken from the lower ranks of life. Neither age nor infirmity, ignorance nor learning, could free those who refused to submit to the dogmatical dicta of a corrupted church from the most cruel of deaths. During the year, eighty-five persons of different descriptions were burnt, and by their constancy animated their brethren to be equally firm in the same cause. Notwithstanding the danger, ministers were everywhere found to instruct their flocks, and ready to expose themselves to death for their religious opinions. Nay, the very terrors of persecution most strongly pleaded in favour of a faith which could enable men to endure them patiently, and the government was at last obliged to prevent the people from expressing any signs of approbation towards the martyrs, and to order housekeepers to keep away their apprentices from a sight which might urge them to violence against the executioners, or admiration of the victims. The country was supplied with books and religious tracts from the reformers who were beyond sea, and out of the reach of personal risk, but to whose spiritual welfare the calm which they enjoyed was far more dangerous than the storm which was raging in England, for instead of passing their time in mortification and prayer, to which the sufferings of the reformed at home might surely have directed them, they commenced those disputes about the liturgy and ceremonies, which have ended in dividing the Protestant church, and humbling us in the sight of our opponents.¹

• § 372 Cardinal Pole was now raised to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, to which his consecration took place the day after the martyrdom of Cranmer for it seems that he had some scruples about entering into the bishopric during the life of its former occupier. His pall and bull of consecration had long been in England, for though the pope bore no good-will towards him, which indeed he soon manifested, yet he had now no grounds for refusing a favour which the queen so earnestly desired, since she on her part was exerting herself in promoting the temporal interests of the church. She re-established several religious houses, particularly those which had suffered for their adherence to her mother; converted the chapter at Westminster into a monastic foundation; and took every means to destroy the documents of the former

¹ See § 367, b.

reign, which either favoured the Reformation, or cast disgrace on her present coadjutors, by testifying their former compliance, an act which is in itself hardly justifiable, and which has had the effect of obscuring the history of the period, and leaving on the minds of those who study it an impression as injurious to the cause which it was meant to benefit as any positive testimony could have afforded.

§ 373. (A.D. 1557) The next year commenced with the visitation of the two universities, in which the commissioners seem to have reformed such real abuses as they met with; though one of their chief employments was to dig up the bones of Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge, which were burnt on account of the heresy of their former owners; and those of the wife of Peter Martyr at Oxford, which were buried in a dung-heap, because she had died excommunicated. This absurd *brutum fulmen* was but the prelude to more serious persecutions, which were carried on with unabated vigour over the kingdom. The sufferers amounted in this year to seventy-nine, which number was probably increased by a commission given to Bonner and twenty others for the discovery of heresy and the punishment of certain offences, in which they were invested with all the authority which the infliction of fine and imprisonment could afford them. This, though far different from the establishment of the inquisition, was a very important step towards its introduction. In all these transactions, the cardinal probably was not guilty of any of the severest or most cruel measures. He seems to have tried, in a quiet manner, to check the vehemence of the bishop of London, but he possessed neither firmness of character nor influence sufficient to arrest these tyrannical proceedings, he had indeed dismissed several persons on very equivocal submission, but by so doing exposed himself to the malice of the pope, which broke out on the following occasion.

§ 374 Paul IV. had persuaded Henry II. of France to break the truce with Spain, contrary to all good faith; and when, after the battle of St. Quintin, in which the English had assisted the forces of Philip, the pope found himself exposed to the power of the Spaniards by the removal of the army of the duke of Guise from Italy, he vented his rage on Pole for not having prevented this step of the English cabinet, withdrew his legantine powers, and summoned him to Rome to answer the charges which were brought against him of favouring heresy. Peto, the queen's confessor, was invested with the authority of which the archbishop was deprived, but Mary, justly offended at these hasty decisions, refused to admit him into the kingdom. These disturbances, however, were quickly brought to a conclusion, for the advance of the duke of Alva on Rome reduced the pope to the necessity of a

peace, one of the secret articles of which was the restoration of Pole.

(A.D. 1558) The loss of Calais and Guisnes, which seems to have been chiefly owing to the defective manner in which they were supplied, brought the dissatisfaction of the English nation to its summit; nor did the difficulties, chiefly financial, with which the council were surrounded, suffer them to adopt a rapid attack on the former fortress, a step strenuously recommended by the king. A parliament was now assembled, and relieved them from a part of their difficulties by a grant of money, which came too late to retrieve the errors that had been committed, and on the prorogation of it the bishops renewed their persecutions. Thirty-nine suffered this year, making the total of the victims during this reign amount to two hundred and seventy. Some authors ^(a) give a much larger number, but humanity shudders at this, and in a proclamation now put forth, the people are forbidden even to pray for the sufferers, a step in persecution much more unchristian than could have been conceived, had not experience taught us how far the evil passions may carry human beings when unrestrained by a sense of true religion. Bonner himself seems to have been gluttoned with murder, and to have confined his exertions to the personal castigation of his ill-fated prisoners.

§ 375 At length, however, it pleased Almighty God to put an end to these cruelties by the death of Mary, who, after a protracted state of declining health and suffering, ended her inglorious career on the seventeenth of November. With all her faults she must be allowed the praise of sincerity for the love she bore to the Roman Catholic religion and the papacy induced her to advance its supposed interests at her own expense ^(a), as well as that of her persecuted subjects, and her chief misfortune seems to have been this, that a genius which would have shone in a nunnery was exalted to a throne. Her temper, naturally sour, had been rendered morose by the sufferings which she underwent; and her personal animosity was so wrapped up under the garb of religion, that she probably did not distinguish between the two. Had she

^(a) Lord Buleigh reckons it at 400 (Burnet, *P* iii 199, fol 454, 8vo). The writer to Ridley, *De Cena Domini*, 800 in the first two years of the persecution (Burnet, vol ii. 272, fol 658, 8vo). This was probably Grindal. Strype makes it 288 (vi 556, *Ecc Mem*). The numbers as given annually by Burnet amount to 270.

^(a) Her foundations were made out of the revenues of the crown, and

instead of making a gain of godliness, as was the general plan of the Reformation, she offered not up unto the Lord of that which cost her nothing. Among other donations, she gave some rectories, which were in the hands of the crown, to Oxford, to repair the schools, and restored the temporalities to Durham, which had been taken away as a prey for the duke of Northumberland.

met with more wise and liberal counsellors, she might have escaped much of the obloquy with which her name was then and is still loaded, and had she followed the advice of Cardinal Pole, she would probably have avoided many of those enormities which disgrace human nature, and are an everlasting stigma on the Christian religion. The legate himself breathed his last within sixteen hours of his mistress, a man very different from those with whom he was politically connected, and who sought to establish the religion he professed by reforming obvious abuses and by gentleness of treatment. It does not appear that he always wished to abstain from severe measures against heretics, but, as it has been before observed, he could not follow the bent of his own mind, and it is not unworthy of remark, that the only pardon¹ issued for an heretic in this reign was granted at his intercession. Many Protestants had formed a very different opinion concerning him, and believed that he was in fact the friend of the Reformation,² but this false idea³ was soon taken off, and, on finding their mistake, it is not wonderful that they should feel exasperated against him, though his conduct throughout seems to have been that of a reasonable and sincere Roman Catholic.

¹ Strype's *Ecc Mem* vi 29

² *Cranmer*, 498, *App* lxxxii

³ *Ecc Mem* v 542

CHAPTER VIII.

DURING PART OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH,
Nov 17, 1558—1563.

401 Varied prospects of Elizabeth 402 Prudence of her conduct.
403 Coronation, parliament. 404 Bishoprics pillaged by the Crown
405 Conference in Westminster Abbey 406 Convocation, injunctions.
407 Ejection of the recusant clergy 408 Court of high commission, images
409 Consecration of bishops. 410 Defective ministry arising partly from the poverty of the church
411 Reforms, Jewel's Apology 412 Parliament, convocation. 413 Benefits of the Reformation. Evils arising from the Reformation

§ 401 THE prospects of Elizabeth upon her succession to the throne were of that varied nature which give birth to, as well as require, superior abilities, nor would it have been easy to decide whether or no the dangers which threatened her from without were balanced by the domestic advantages with which her reign was commenced. Against France and Scotland, her nearest neighbours, she was engaged in open hostilities, and the loss of Calais had so dispirited the nation, that they were unable to exert themselves for its recovery, dissatisfied as they were at the idea of losing it. The army and navy which she possessed were scarcely adequate to the defence of her shores, and the pecuniary resources of the kingdom too low to afford her the means of recruiting them with effect. The plans of reformation in religion, which she had determined to adopt, were likely to alienate her only ally, and it was probable that no small number of the people of England who adhered to the Roman Catholic persuasion would entertain sentiments little different from those of Philip. These disadvantages were counterpoised by the unanimity of the nation; for no monarch ever ascended the throne with stronger expressions of public opinion in their favour, or whose character stood higher in the estimation of all orders. The cruelties of the late reign had gone far beyond the wishes of most of the more violent Roman Catholics, and the disgraces which had attended the arms of England had rendered the people generally dissatisfied with the government to which it may be added, that Elizabeth had been the victim of much personal vexation, and the good conduct which she had exhibited under very trying circumstances had given her a just title to the popularity which usually attends the oppressed.

§ 402. The first acts of her reign were dictated by great prudence, and she seems to have been peculiarly fortunate as well as judicious in the selection of the persons by whom these transactions were chiefly directed. In the communications which she made to foreign courts, to inform them of her succession, she gratefully acknowledged the personal debt which she owed to Philip, nor did she neglect to send a despatch to the court of Rome, but Paul IV. refused to acknowledge her legitimacy, and threatened to show her no favour, since she had assumed without his concurrence a crown which was held in fee of the apostolic see, a haughtiness of proceeding which must be deemed the first step to that animosity between the two courts, of which the effects were so severely felt by the Roman Catholics of England. She seems indeed at this time to have desired as much union between her subjects of different persuasions as was compatible with her own religious opinions and those which they severally professed; for though she had always been bred up a Protestant, and decidedly favoured that side of the question, yet in retaining twelve of those who had belonged to the council of Queen Mary, as her own privy councillors, she gave the surest pledge that she had no intention of introducing any very violent innovations. No one could have doubted her inclination to promote the cause of the Reformation, since one of the first cares which occupied her attention was the appointment of a committee to examine into the service of Edward VI, and to alter whatever was amiss, yet its consultations were accompanied with a marked attention to prudence, rather than by zeal for alteration, and the same feature belonged to the other proceedings of this period. The only innovation¹ in the church service which she sanctioned on her own authority consisted in allowing the Ten Commandments, as well as the Gospel and Epistle, to be read in the vulgar tongue, and the same proclamation which enjoined this forbade both parties to preach or expound them,² directing that the adoption of the English language in the public prayers should be confined to the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. This step was perhaps rendered necessary by the eagerness to reform which was exhibited by certain persons desirous of entering on controversial subjects, and anxious to get rid of everything which offended them, without waiting for the dilatory process of legal enactments. The queen, however, possessed far too much sense to permit such tumultuary alterations, and her own conduct was characterized by firmness as well as prudence. She began her political career by trying to gain the good opinion and affection of all her subjects; and the condescending propriety of

¹ Strype's *Annals* i 77.

² *Ibid.* i 77.

her personal manner contributed greatly to produce this desired effect. She readily presented herself to the eyes of all orders, and assumed a demeanour which, though rather theatrical, was very taking with the multitude. When, for instance, she was proceeding on her way to the coronation¹ (A D 1559), a character in one of the city pageants, representing Truth, presented her with an English Bible, she kissed it, and with both her hands held it up, and then laid it upon her breast, and greatly thanking the city for that present, said she would often read over that book.

§ 403 (Jan 15) She was crowned by Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle, as none of the other Roman Catholic bishops would consent to take part in the ceremony.² They foresaw the influence which her reign must probably have on religion, and being most of them unwilling to make new changes in their faith, they determined not to contribute in any degree to her establishment on the throne; a species of policy as unsound in principle as it was injurious to themselves in its effects, for unless they pretended to alter the line of legal succession by their noncompliance, it could hardly have any other tendency than that of alienating the mind of the queen from their cause, and certainly conveyed an idea that they wished to frighten her into compliance with their views; a step in itself unwarrantable, and which argued great ignorance of her temper and disposition. Fully conscious of the difficulties with which the kingdom was encompassed, she hastened to compose her differences with foreign powers, in order that every facility might be given to the internal settlement of the government, and quickly assembled a parliament, to frame such laws as might bring back the state of religion to nearly the same condition as had been established in the days of her brother. The first act of this session restored to the crown the fullest authority over all persons within the realm, without conferring the appellation which had been previously borne with it, for Elizabeth seems to have entertained some scruples as to the lawfulness of assuming the title of supreme head of the church, as belonging to Him only who is head over all. The powers, however, which were conveyed by it were fully ample to answer every purpose of reform,³ and she was empowered to appoint commissioners, whose jurisdiction had bounds as indefinite as the supremacy itself. An oath, too, was imposed on all persons holding or taking any office, and most severe and unreasonable penalties affixed to the refusal of it. During the whole of the debate on this act, the strongest opposition was shown on the part of the Roman Catholic bishops, who advocated the cause of civil liberty; being naturally adverse

¹ Strype's *Annals*, i. 43² *Ibid.* i. 73.³ Statutes of the Realm

to opinions so much at variance with what they had lately professed, and which were at the same time likely to eject them from their preferments.

§ 404 Nor were the temporal interests of the queen forgotten ; for besides having the tenths and first-fruits restored to her, she was allowed to take possession of any ecclesiastical lands or property belonging to vacant sees, and to transfer an equivalent from such impropriations as were vested in the crown, a law which gave occasion to many exchanges seriously detrimental to the bishoprics ; and it is hardly to be doubted, that the intention of those who passed the bill corresponded with the effects produced by it,¹ for who was likely to examine scrupulously into the fairness of the exchange while the preferment was vacant, and the appointment of the successor vested in the hands of the very authority which pillaged the benefice^(*)?

§ 405 The act of uniformity, too, passed during this session, which, by restoring the use of the Common Prayer Book, gave back to the laity the full enjoyment of the sacrament of the Eucharist under both kinds. These innovations, however, were not made without keeping up at least the appearance of free discussion, for a disputation was appointed to be held in Westminster Abbey, in which the advocates of either faith might advance the arguments in favour of their own opinions, and endeavour to refute the positions of their adversaries but though this conference was commenced with all due formality, yet it ended in tumult and confusion, and served only to widen the breach between the contending parties. The failure on this occasion seems to have been entirely owing to the Roman Catholics, for they refused to comply with the conditions on which the debate was to take place. It had been agreed that each party should read their arguments on the questions, and then give the written documents to their opponents, who on the next day were reciprocally to answer each other, and to transfer their papers. The points of discussion were, 1. Whether it were contrary to the word of God and the custom of the primitive church, to use an unknown tongue in the public service, and administration of the sacraments. 2. Whether every church has power to appoint rites and ceremonies, or to alter them, provided it be done to edification. 3. Whether the mass could be proved by the word of God to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and

(*) So well aware of the evil tendency of this law were the bishops who were first consecrated, that they offered the queen to raise for her an

income of a thousand marks, if she would stop these exchanges, but their application was ineffectual (*Strype's Grindal*, 49)

the living. But on the first day, though Cole delivered a long oration on the first question, the Roman Catholics refused to give in a copy of their arguments, and on the second day the conference was broken up, through a dispute about the order of proceeding, and in consequence of some applause which had been given to the Protestant advocates on the former occasion. Thus ended the disputation, of which the result was such as might naturally have been expected from this sort of exhibition, in which all the passions are excited by its publicity, and no room left for quiet discussion; and yet it was not without its use (*). The ill conduct of the Roman Catholic advocates turned the general opinion against them, and the Reformation made much progress in the sentiments of the numerous hearers, and through them in the country at large, for all men readily exclaimed that the present issue was produced by those who knew that their opinions could not stand the test of sober reason, and who, therefore, preferred the dissolution of the conference to exhibiting their own weakness, which observation was much favoured by what was said by the bishops of Lincoln and Worcester, who objected, in toto, to thus allowing the laity to become judges in ecclesiastical affairs, and concerning doctrines which had been before settled by the Catholic church, and were not now therefore to be called in question by any but an assembly of divines, a method of solving the difficulty which must appear reasonable to those who believe in an infallible church, but which is unfortunately equally conclusive against every species of amendment or reformation, wherein the interests of such a church are concerned.

§ 406 The convocation had been assembled at the same time as the parliament,¹ and certain articles which were exhibited in the lower house, and sent up to the bishops, showed the decided spirit of popery by which this body was actuated, as well as the favour which was shown to such opinions in the universities, where these articles had received many subscriptions. These exertions, however, produced no effect.

The queen's Injunctions were published during the spring,² which correspond in most respects with those set forth in the

(*) There is a document in Burnet II iii No 5, signed by several of the privy council, attributing the whole blame to the bishops who refused to produce their opinions on paper. The bishops of Lincoln and Winchester were the next day committed to the Tower, and the rest of the

Roman Catholic disputants obliged to find bail for their personal appearance before the council as often as it sat. A step which, though it may possibly be defended on the plea of their disorderly conduct, cannot but appear severe and vexatious. See Strype's *Ann* i 139.

¹ Strype's *Ann* i 80.

² Sparrow's *Coll.* 65.

beginning of the reign of Edward VI. The chief additions to them consist in regulations concerning the marriage of the clergy^(*), their habits, &c, together with an open declaration of the supremacy, which the queen claimed to herself, and to which allusion is made in the thirty-second article of our church¹. It is here declared that the queen neither does nor will challenge any other authority than that which was used by her father and brother, viz. the sovereignty over all persons born within the realm, and the exclusion of all foreign jurisdiction. These Injunctions, as well as certain Articles of Visitation,² with respect to parishes, were but preparatory steps to the establishment of the court of high commission, which was constituted towards the end of June, and by means of which a general visitation with regard to ecclesiastical matters took place throughout the whole kingdom.

§ 407. The ninth section in the act of Parliament³ had enjoined all spiritual persons holding preferments to take the oath of supremacy under pain of deprivation, and this was now tendered by these commissioners. All the bishops, with the exception of one only, Kitchin of Llandaff, refused so to do, and were ejected from their sees, to the number of fourteen. Whether they now acted from conscientious motives, or hoped by their numbers to force the queen into compliance, must, in this world at least, remain a secret; but as several⁴ of them had previously assented to the doctrine of the pre-eminence of the civil power, their combination looks very much like a conspiracy to support each other in their refusal. The treatment⁵ which they experienced after their deprivation was generally moderate, and in several instances most kind and considerate (*). Heath resided on his own property in Surrey,

(*) Great scandal seems to have arisen in the church, in consequence of the indiscreet marriage of its ministers (Sparrow's *Coll* p. 76, § 29). It was therefore ordered, that no priest or deacon should marry without the approbation first obtained of the bishop and two justices of the peace for the county, nor without the consent of the parents or relatives of the woman, or of the master or mistress with whom she was at service, in case she had no relatives (a proof of the low rank held by the clergy). The marriage of bishops was to be sanctioned by the metropolitan and commissioners appointed by the queen, and that of deans and heads

of houses by their visitors; and in case of neglecting these orders, they became incapable of holding ecclesiastical benefices. I know not whether these were ever acted on, but they formed one of the heads of examination with the concealers. *Strype's Ann* v. 163. See § 428

(*) See note H in Lingard's *Hist. of Eng* vol. vii where the same treatment is represented differently. As it is difficult to defend the justice of these ejections, so it is impossible to deny the necessity of them. See a considerable account of them in Fuller (ix 58). Nine sees were now vacant, and three bishops fled beyond sea

* ¹ Sparrow's *Coll*. 81

² *Ibid.* 175

³ *Stat. Realm*, 1 Eliz.

⁴ *Strype's Ann.* i. 216.

⁵ *Ibid* i. 211

and was several times visited by the queen herself; and even Bonner, notwithstanding all the enormities of which he had been guilty, died a natural death, in prison indeed, for the resentment of the populace rendered it dangerous for him to leave what became a place of safety rather than of confinement. The rest of the clergy generally complied with the changes which were established by law, as, indeed, they had frequently done before, for of 9,400 beneficed men in England, there were but 14 bishops, 6 abbots, 12 deans, 12 archdeacons, 15 heads of colleges, 50 prebendaries, and 80 rectors, making a total of 189, who refused to take the oath of supremacy, a number which would appear very inconsiderable, amounting to little more than one in fifty, did we not consider the conciliatory steps which the queen had taken to satisfy all parties, and the modification of the meaning of the oath which the declaration in the Injunctions implied (^b)

§ 408 Another point into which the commissioners inquired was the abuse of images;¹ and during this summer many appear to have been destroyed. When Elizabeth² first came to the throne, the zeal of the reformers had induced them to outstep the limits of the law with regard to these objects of national abomination, but the proclamation of the queen had checked the spirit of unauthorized destruction. Her own sentiments on this subject were, it must be owned, not very equivocally displayed, it was not in her a toleration of what might be deemed innocent by some, but the approval of such representations as seem forbidden in Scripture. She allowed the rood to remain in her own chapel for some time (^a);

(^b) The publication of a form of communion to be used at funerals, and the rubric and absolution in the service for the Visitation of the Sick (Sparrow's *Coll.* 201) may be adduced as instances of the general wish to conciliate exhibited by our church. The Roman Catholic population had been accustomed to connect the idea of a funeral with a mass for the dead, and when the superstitious part of the custom was abrogated, whatever was not unscriptural was retained, and at the moment after that in which the body of a relation has been committed to the earth, the surviving relatives are likely to remember Him through whom we all hope to rise again. So again the customs of the church of Rome had in the minds of the people rendered absolution by the priest, as it were, necessary to salvation; and if any dying brother humbly and heartily

desired this office, if his scruples made him wish for such a declaratory consolation as a fellow-sinner could authoritatively give him, a form of absolution was adjoined for the purpose

(^a) This crucifix was offensive to many of the bishops, and in 1561 a disputation was held, in which Parker and Cox supported its remaining, Grindal and Jewel argued against it (Burn. *Ref.* vi 381, No. 60, 8vo). This seems to have had little effect, for in 1565, R. Tracy wrote to Secretary Cecil, urging him to use his influence for its removal (Strype's *Ann.* ii. 198). Between this time and 1570 it appears to have been put out of the chapel, and restored again, to the great dislike of the people (Strype's *Parker*, ii 35), and to have been there when the Admonition to Parliament was published, 1572 (Strype's *Ann.* ii 200).

¹ Strype's *Ann.* i. 254.

² Ibid. 290.

and though there was something said about images, in the Injunctions and Articles of Visitation, yet the clergy were rather ordered not to extol them, than to cast them entirely out of places of Christian worship, unless they had been superstitiously misused. In the next year, indeed, some of the new bishops, with a laudable anxiety for God's service, endeavoured to carry this point, by addressing themselves to her majesty, and stating at length the arguments against the continuance of this abuse, and their exertions seem to have been crowned with the success which they so well deserved. In this case, the temporising spirit of the queen strongly showed itself. She was perfectly right in trying to conciliate all her subjects, but as the principles of real toleration were not then at all understood, she rather compromised the opinions of Protestants than favoured the sentiments of her other subjects, and in endeavouring to induce the Roman Catholics to become members of the church of England, she ran the risk of driving from our communion the soundest friends and ablest supporters of the Reformation.

§ 409 The next step, which from its importance to the church greatly occupied the attention of the court, was the filling up of the vacant bishoprics. It so happened, that from deaths and deprivations almost all the sees were at this moment unoccupied, nor could those bishops who retained their preferments for the present be induced to assist in the consecration of men of whose opinions they did not approve. But against this evil a remedy had been provided by the providence of God; for there still existed several members of the episcopal order, who, having fled beyond sea, and escaped the persecutions of Mary, became the instruments of continuing to our church the apostolical succession of bishops. As much evil had been produced during the reign of Edward VI. by the favour which some individuals holding high situations in the church had shown the Roman Catholic religion, it was now determined to employ great caution in the selection of those who were to discharge this most important duty.

The character of Matthew Parker, as well as the personal favour of Elizabeth, marked him out as the future metropolitan, but his own unwillingness to accept so responsible and arduous an office delayed his consecration for nearly a twelvemonth: the ceremony was at last performed, on the 17th of December, in the chapel at Lambeth, by Scory, who had formerly held the see of Chichester, and was now elected to that of Hereford, Barlow, formerly of Wells, now bishop elect of Chichester; Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, who was never re-appointed to any see, and Hodgkin,

suffragan of Bedford^(a) Strype has been very particular in recording everything which was done on this occasion from the most authentic documents,¹ in order to refute the fable of the Nag's Head consecration, which was promulgated by the Roman Catholics about forty years after the event had taken place,² when it might have been supposed that all direct testimony would have been lost. The story is, that the bishops elect met at a tavern, which bore that sign, and that when Oglethorp refused to consecrate them, Scory laid a Bible on each of their heads, and bade them rise up bishops. The tale has been refuted as often as brought forward, and bears on its face this difficulty, that had this account been known to the enemies of the church of England, it is not likely that any delicacy on their part should have delayed its publication for so long a period.

§ 410. The other sees were most of them filled up during the next year, and the church began to employ itself on those points in which amendment was chiefly required. The state of the ministry formed one of the most prominent cares towards which the attention of the guardians of the establishment was directed; for the ignorance which generally prevailed in the universities^(a), together with the superstition which reigned there, made it very difficult to obtain men suited to the task, or capable of performing the duties to which they were called, so that the necessity of the case induced many bishops to ordain persons of whom they entertained a good opinion with regard to their religious sentiments, but who were inadequate, in point of attainments, to so important a charge. The ill effects, however, of this system were soon discovered,³ and in August Parker wrote to Grindal⁴ desiring him not to ordain any more mechanics^(b)

(a) The legality of the English consecrations was in 1568 very nearly tried before a common jury, in a court of law. Horne, bishop of Winchester, tendered the oath of supremacy to Bonner while a prisoner in the Marshalsea, and therefore within his diocese, and Bonner among other pleas, put in one which denied that Horne was a bishop at all. He had been consecrated according to the service established by Edward VI and abolished by Mary, and which had never since been distinctly authorized by act of Parliament. The point was argued, and would have been brought before a jury, had not an act been passed which declared all bishops, priests, and deacons consecrated according to the form esta-

blished, to be bishops, priests, and deacons (Fuller, ix. 80. Strype's *Ann* I. ii. 2).

(a) Jewel, writing to Peter Martyr in 1559, says, 'Academia utraque, et ea præsertim, quam tu non ita pridem doctissime atque optime coluisti, miserrime nunc disjecta jacet, sine pietate, sine religione, sine doctore, sine spe ulla literarum' (Burnet, P. iii. No 58). To Bullinger, 'Academiarum nostrarum ita afflictæ sunt, ut Oxoniæ vix duo sunt, qui nobiscum sentiant, et illi ipsi ita abjecti et fracti ut nihil possint' (Strype's *Ann* No 20, vol. ii. 490).

(b) Gibson (afterwards bishop of London) writes to Mr Pepys, 1696, *Diary*, ii. 153. 'The other day I met with a catalogue of the clergy

¹ Parker, i. 101. ² See § 623. ³ Strype's *Parker*, i. 180. ⁴ *Ibid* Grindal, 60.

The difficulty of finding persons who might be willing to enter into the ministry, and able to fulfil the duties of it, had been greatly augmented by the extreme poverty to which the clergy were generally reduced. This evil arose chiefly from impropriations and alienations, which had been carried on to a dreadful extent, and which were now by no means effectually prevented, but the loss of those offerings customarily made at shrines, and of the fees paid for the performance of ecclesiastical duties in the parish, had in no small degree contributed to the same end. This latter cause was particularly injurious, since the benefices in large towns chiefly depended on this source of revenue, and those places, where the efficiency of the clergyman was of the most importance, had no means of supporting the incumbent St Mary Ax, for instance, had for some time been without any minister, as its revenues did not amount to five pounds,¹ till it was united by Grindal to another parish. To all these causes must be added the simoniacal contracts of corrupt patrons, who sought not for those who could ‘preach learnedly, but pay largely’²

§ 411. The bishops seem at first to have been so fully employed about the concerns of their several dioceses, that little progress was made in the public and outward concerns of the church, though its leading members were in all probability secretly preparing what was required, and deliberating on those particulars in which reform was principally wanted.

(A D. 1562) These points consisted in the publication of certain articles of faith, which might set forth, in an authoritative manner, the belief of the church of England, in a new translation or revisal of the Bible, and the establishment of a code of ecclesiastical laws.

While these things were preparing, Bishop Jewel put forth his *Apology for the Church of England*, a work as remarkable for the elegance of the Latin in which it is written, as for the soundness of the positions which it maintains³ He there states, in a brief and oratorical style, the grounds of the separation of our church from that of Rome; showing that in what she had done, England had

of the archdeaconry of Middlesex, taken in 1563, with an account of each man’s learning and abilities, in short, observing the strangeness of the characters, I ran over the whole, and as I went along, branched them under different heads, whereby their several abilities in learning are there expressed.

• Docti Latine et Græce . . . 3

Docti	. . .	12
Mediocriter docti	. . .	2
Latine docti	. . .	9
Latine mediocriter	. . .	33
Latine parum aliquid, &c	. . .	42
Latine non docti	. . .	13
Indocti	. . .	4

‘If the London clergy were thus ignorant, what must we imagine the country divines were?’

¹ Strype’s *Grindal*, 78.

² Strype’s *Ann* iv. 146. See also § 430.

³ *Ibid.* i. 424.

rather returned to the state of the primitive church, than occasioned a schism in the Christian family, and that the innovation with which we were charged, was merely the rejection of the errors introduced by the community from which we had separated (*).

§ 412 (January 12, A D. 1563) In January of the next year the parliament and convocation were assembled, by the former, a very severe law¹ was passed for enforcing the supremacy; and to refuse the oath, when tendered a second time, was declared to be treason, a step which, though it might in some measure seem to be defensible, in consequence of the treasonable conspiracy carried on by the Poles and others, with the design of bringing in Mary queen of Scots, appears to be as remarkable for the unsoundness of its political principles as for the cruelty of its enactments² The words of the oath of supremacy, even during this reign, were such, that a Roman Catholic, whatever his views in politics might be, could hardly take it, so that if the law were acted upon, it might bring some of the most faithful of her subjects into jeopardy of their lives, while it is evident that no laws can guard against the attacks of men who are urged by religious phrensy, and willing to make themselves martyrs in the cause of their own opinions, a truth which was fully verified throughout the whole of this reign.

In the lower house of convocation many of those questions were now agitated which formed the groundwork of the subsequent objections of the puritans, but as the motions founded on them were never passed, the discussion of the points themselves may be reserved to the beginning of the next chapter.

The acts of this convocation are much more important The Articles of our church, then consisting of thirty-eight,³ were published as containing the confession of the church of England, but they do in reality differ very little from the forty-two which were put forth by the authority of Cranmer, in the reign of Edward VI

(March 3) The larger catechism (*), too, revised and enlarged by Alexander Noel, dean of St. Paul's,⁴ was approved by the lower house of convocation; a tribute of respect which confers on it a species of semi-authority, though not officially promulgated by the church of England.

(*) It is printed in the *Enchiridion Theologicum*, and has been lately reprinted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge It may be deemed a book authorized by the church of England It was pub-

lished at the command of the queen, and ordered to be set up in churches (Strype's *Ann* III. i 738)

(*) It is printed in the *Enchiridion Theologicum*, and is chiefly taken from Ponet's *Catechism*, § 331, a.

¹ See § 453 (*).

³ See § 485.

² *Statutes of the Realm*, c. 1 5 Eliz.

⁴ Strype's *Ann.* i 525, and 323.

The second book of Homilies ^(b) was printed about this period,¹ though it took some time to distribute it generally throughout the country

§ 413 As these documents together form the standard and basis of our present church, we may deem the Reformation to have now received its accomplishment, the changes which have been since made are in their nature comparatively insignificant, so that before we proceed to the continuation of the history, it may be useful for a moment briefly to inquire what we have gained or lost by the Reformation in religion.

We have learnt the fundamental truth on which the whole of

(b) See § 305 The history of the composition of the Homilies is buried in so much obscurity, that a short note will convey to the reader all that is known concerning them. The first volume is generally attributed to Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hopkins, and Becon. Burnet (Pref to the *Thirty-nine Articles*, p. iii) says that Jewel was particularly engaged in compiling the second Archbishop Parker, however, in 1563, speaks of them as being 'revised and finished, with a second part, by him and the other bishops' (Strype's *Parker*, i. 253), an expression indicating, perhaps, that they were drawn up in the reign of Edward VI., though not published, but by no means deciding the question. The language of the two books is different, and there is much internal evidence of the several homilies having been composed by different authors. The first book is probably the most valuable, and the expressions used in the thirty-fifth Article, 'Non minus quam prior tomus homiliarum quæ editæ sunt tempore Edwardi Sexti,' &c, seem rather to indicate that the latter work was not composed by the same authors. The homilies on Salvation, Faith, and Good Works, are with reason attributed to Cranmer (Todd, on the *Thirty-nine Art* pref p. xi). That on Adultery is by Becon, and printed in the second vol. of his Works. The most important edition of the Homilies are as follows -

First book, first edit. 1547, last of
July 1 Edw VI

Second divided as at present,
1549, August

Second book, 1st 1563, that on
Wilful Rebellion was added
1571.

Last, by authority, 1623.

'Fortunately, the variations in the different editions, numerous as they are, are almost universally verbal or grammatical, and it is remarkable, that a book which has passed through the hands of so many editors, and has been altered in almost every edition, should have received so few alterations of any importance as to doctrine. One use of such collations, is to prove that the Homilies have not been tampered with by any sect or party among us, for the purpose of making them express sentiments different from those of the original compilers.' Dr Elmsley's Preface to the *Homilies*, with various readings, Oxford, 1822

When Dr Elmsley was engaged in preparing this edition, he kindly promised the use of his Collections for the present work, but added, that there was no real information on the subject. His death deprived the author of this advantage, and of the advice of a friend, who, to a mass of real knowledge on almost every subject, joined a facility of communicating it, which endeared him to those who were acquainted with him, and who would not have dissuaded to render this sketch less unworthy of perusal, by correcting its errors and supplying its deficiencies

¹ Strype's *Ann* ii. 104.

Christianity rests, nay, which is itself Christianity; That 'we are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not of our own works or deservings.' That good works, however pleasing to God, are only accepted as proofs of the faith which we entertain in the mercy of Heaven, and as proceeding from love towards Him who hath redeemed us. That acts of penitence, however sincere, can in no sense be deemed a compensation for our sin, although they may prove useful to ourselves in preventing a repetition of our crimes, and that there is no sacrifice for sin but the atonement which was once offered on the cross.

The establishment of these truths virtually got rid of the greater part of the superstitious rites with which religion had been overwhelmed, and she was again enthroned in the heart of the true believer, instead of being identified with ceremonious observances. A communion had been substituted in lieu of the mass, and with the rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the laity were taught that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken by the faithful alone in the Lord's Supper, the efficacy of which consists in the institution of Christ, and the state of their own consciences, and not in the magic virtue of priestly offices. The personal responsibility of the individual Christian was clearly insisted on, and though the laity were not deprived of the comfort and aid of spiritual guidance, yet that inquisitorial power which the clergy had exercised by means of auricular confession was removed, and the priesthood became the directors of their flocks, and not the self-constituted judges of the terms on which pardon might be obtained from the Almighty. They were still the keepers of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but by the dissemination of the Scriptures, and the progress of education, the rest of their brethren were permitted to guide their own footsteps towards the gates of paradise. The Bible was indeed committed to their peculiar care, but it was not withheld from the hands of the people; so that though it was their especial duty to lead on their fellow-servants in the right path, yet they could no longer, like the lawyers of old, take away the key from others, or prevent those from entering in who would gladly do so. All were taught to examine for themselves; and though little toleration was subsequently granted to any who ventured to differ from the queen, yet the first great step towards religious liberty was irrevocably made when it was authoritatively stated¹ that every assembly of human beings was liable to err even in things pertaining to God. At the same time a very material diminution was made in the power of the church, considered as a body distinct from the laity, when its

¹ Art. xxi.

members were allowed to connect themselves to the rest of society by those ties of matrimony which the law of God has left open to all - for these bands which attach the individual churchman to the nearer concerns of private life, cannot fail to weaken the interest he feels in the political welfare of the ecclesiastical body, to which alone the earthly affections of the unmarried must be wedded. The property of the church, and that influence which is ever connected with its possession, had undoubtedly in former times been too great for the welfare of the kingdom; but the Protestant monarchs had taken good care to prevent the recurrence of this evil - nor can it be denied that the poverty which succeeded its too wealthy state was in many respects injurious to the cause of vital religion, as it neither afforded the ministers of God's word such facilities for education as their profession required, nor gave them the means of keeping up their outward respectability before their flocks. This was peculiarly felt by many of the newly-appointed bishops, who, returning penniless from their foreign hiding-places, found themselves on a sudden exalted into situations from which much worldly pomp had always been expected, and for the supply of which the revenues of their preferments were totally inadequate. They were forced, therefore, in their prosperity to exercise that patience which they had long practised in the hour of misfortune. and by the sacrifices which they were called on to make, the momentous truth was daily impressed on them, a truth which it would be well if none of us forgot, that the church establishment is intended to promote the cause of religion, and not religion to advance the interests of the church.

Among the abuses which had been remedied, many were as offensive to the religious members of the Roman Catholic communion as to Protestants, nor can it be denied that other evils were introduced, from which they had been comparatively free, and which cannot fail to prejudice them against the measures which were adopted.

Enough has been already said of the spoliation of church property which accompanied this part of our history; but on the whole, probably, the present revenues of the church are adequate to her real interests, if they were reasonably divided and properly distributed, and poverty is a much more safe state for the church of Christ than wealth: 'How hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of heaven!'

The subjection of the ecclesiastical body to the state, in the manner in which it takes place in the church of England, must be very offensive to those whose views in this respect have been differently directed; and though perhaps such a constitution may be as beneficial to society as any human appointment can be

expected to prove, yet we must be blind not to perceive many evils resulting from it. It may perhaps be questionable, whether much power over his lay brethren may be safely intrusted to the minister of the Gospel, yet it cannot but appear singular, that of all the different denominations of Christians which exist in England, probably no one body has committed so little spiritual authority into the hands of those who preside over its concerns, as the established church. This is probably right, as far as the laity are concerned, but it cannot be right when we look at that discipline which the church ought to exercise over its official members. All the power which was exercised in ecclesiastical matters, during this and the following reigns, was in reality a civil power, and was often exerted unfortunately for civil purposes. So that the church frequently formed a rallying point in political differences, and as the spirit of civil liberty by degrees emancipated the church from the tyranny to which it had been reduced, it left us without effectual ecclesiastical discipline.

In matters of faith, too, many evils of the same description took place. The people had been taught to believe that religion consisted in the performance of religious duties, and not in the religious state of the heart, of which religious actions are the natural and necessary fruit, and when the principles of the Reformation had pointed out the inadequacy of the acts themselves to obtain the favour of God, men were ready to forget that the act generally produces the temper, and that the temper cannot really exist, unless accompanied by the act. Confession, for instance, had been abused, and when men were told that it was not necessary for salvation, they assumed that it did not contribute to produce a humble frame of mind. They were told that stated fasts were an invention of men, and they forgot that fasting is an institution sanctioned by Christ ^(a). They learnt that in many cases the Roman Catholics had mistaken and neglected the end of religious performances, and they themselves, while keeping the eye fixed on the end, neglected the means whereby that end might be obtained.

(a) There can be little doubt that the abuse of fasting among the Roman Catholics has produced an injurious counteraction among Protestants with regard to this duty, but undoubtedly many members of the church of Rome submit to a very rigorous and conscientious abstinence during Lent. The error consists in imposing such rules as necessarily binding on Christians, and in substituting one species of food for another. As early as 1541, Gardiner reproved some Cambridge

students for neglecting the observance of Lent, but in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, it seems to have been very strictly kept (*Parker*, i. 133). Proclamations were issued concerning fasting in 1563, 1572, 1576, 1601. And Elizabeth herself would not eat flesh during Lent, till she had obtained a dispensation to that effect from the archbishop, 1587, and there are instances of other dispensations to the same effect (*Fuller*, ix. 182. *Strype's Whitgift*, ii. 456).

The Roman Catholic clergy had often exercised an authority over their flocks, which tended to destroy the moral and religious energies of the people; do not conscientious Protestants, while they deplore the want of restraint which arises from actual discipline over those who are placed under our spiritual care, and which we are not allowed to use, nevertheless neglect to introduce those moral restraints which nothing but religious education and sound information can impart ?

The extent of this subject renders it impossible that it should be fully developed, and it must be left to the meditations of the thoughtful reader of ecclesiastical history, with the brief expression of a hope that Roman Catholics may draw nearer to Protestants in those points where we surpass them, and that we may draw nearer to them in those particulars wherein we have been losers in receding from them

If any religious Roman Catholic be unwilling to allow, that in the advantages before enumerated we at all surpass him, if his whole hopes of salvation be built on that foundation in which we as Protestants trust, let us pray God that neither of us may as individuals be cast out through our own faults, and while we acknowledge the advantages derived to us through the church of Rome, let him thank God that he, as a member of that communion, has obtained in spiritual things many benefits, which he owes to the existence of the Reformation and let us hope and pray, that the dissemination of religious knowledge may by God's mercy prove a blessing to all Christians.

CHAPTER IX.

DURING PART OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH,
FROM 1563 TO 1583

414 Disputes about ecclesiastical dresses 415 The question resolved into its elements. 416 Uniformity in dress enforced; Sampson and Humphrey. 417 Opinions concerning these points 418 Of Jewel; Sandys, Grindal, Parker; Whitgift 419 Of foreign divines 420. Conduct of Elizabeth and Parker 421 Of the Puritans 422 Parker's treatment of the Nonconformists 423 Objections of the Nonconformists 424. Baptismal service, churching of women, music. 425 Church discipline 426. Ordination, parochial discipline. 427. Prophesyings; alienation of church property 428 Ecclesiastical commission, commissions of concealment. 429. Conduct of Elizabeth about church property. 430 Poverty of the church; (*) question of church property 431 Early history of the reign. 432. The London clergy. 433 Cambridge, Cartwright 434 Convocation 435 Ecclesiastical laws, acts of Parliament. 436 Poor Laws 437. Against Roman Catholics. 438 Roman Catholic seminaries abroad, Persons and Campian 439. The treatment of the Roman Catholics, due in part to themselves. 440 Principles on which the question of the treatment of them rests 441. Blame due to the Roman Catholics. 442. Their conduct, the real causes of the evil 443 Temporal character of the Reformation 444. Persecutions under Mary and Elizabeth compared 445 Injustice and intolerance of the reign 446 Severity towards the Nonconformists, Archbishop Parker. 447 Grindal, Archbishop; prophesyings stopped; the archbishop suspended 448. Examination of the conduct of Grindal 449 Of the treatment of the Puritans

§ 414 No sooner had the external enemies of Protestantism lost their power to persecute in England, than the spirit of discord arose within the bosom of our own church, and when all essential points of reformation had been established, the trifling articles of dress and ceremonies produced a flame, which finally ended in the temporary destruction of our church and constitution. In any great change of opinion, among the mass of society, it is natural for men to run into extremes, and wherever party spirit has been prevalent, the passions are so called into action, that some time is required before reason can assume her command, and during such a period, the externals of religion, or of party distinction, naturally produce the greatest effect, and excite the warmest animosity.

The church of Rome had abounded in ceremonies so numerous, as to become burdensome to its members, and the foreign reformers, in avoiding this extreme, had perhaps rendered the outward offices of religion too simple, and therefore less calculated to excite all those feelings among the people, which may beneficially

be enlisted in the cause of devotion. Many of the English divines had adopted their ideas on these points from the school of Geneva, and the disputes which had thence arisen, and which had previously disturbed the peace of the exiles in Frankfort, were unfortunately now introduced into England. We cannot but deplore such an event, but it forms a melancholy comment on the words of St. Paul, and clearly proves how little all other gifts profit, if not accompanied with Christian charity.

§ 415. In order to get a clear view of the merits of the question, it may not be amiss to resolve it into its elementary principles; for the point at issue is very complicated. It seems to divide itself into the following heads

There are corruptions concerning which the Christian, and particularly the Christian minister, must undergo any extremity, rather than admit of them. But it may be questioned whether the use of an ecclesiastical dress, or of ceremonies, be one of this nature; if it be, the individual is right in not complying, but if it be not, then he who resists incurs the wrath of God in withstanding the commands of his prince, and opposing the law of the land.

In these, however, and other points, in which the civil magistrate has a full right to command, he may exert that power so as to do great injury to the cause of Christianity, and as the subject is clearly directed to obey in matters indifferent, so the magistrate is bound not to be peremptory in his commands, unless there be some sound reason for exerting his authority.

The first of these queries must receive its answer from the conscience of the subject; the latter, from the judgment of the government; and both ought to rest upon the decisions of the word of God.

But the difficulty of this discussion is much increased by the complicated nature of the duty of ecclesiastical officers, who as churchmen are bound to obey the established laws, and, as governors of the church, ought to deal charitably with weak brethren, and to soften down as much as possible the severity of those laws which they are called upon to execute. In case, then, the laws are such as are in the opinion of the individual injurious to edification, though he may himself comply with them, yet he can hardly enforce conformity on others, and the spiritual safety of a man so situated will be best consulted by resigning the office with which he was intrusted, for the Christian benefit of those under his control.

In estimating, therefore, the conduct and treatment of the puritans, these several bearings must always be kept in view; and when the matter is duly appreciated, we shall have every cause to be thankful that we live in times in which toleration has nearly put a stop to such discussions.

§ 416. In the first year of Elizabeth the act of uniformity was passed, which gave full powers to the queen with regard to ecclesiastical concerns, and in the last clause but one it is enacted, that all ornaments for churches, and the ministers thereof, shall remain as they were in the second year of Edward VI. ^(a) Proceedings, however, were not commenced for some time against those ministers who did not comply with this part of the law, and a sufficient period was granted to the doubtful, had they been ready to avail themselves of it. But the evil of nonconformity seemed to gain ground by delay; and in the beginning of 1565, Elizabeth sent a pressing letter to Parker, and through him to the rest of the bishops, in which she enjoined them to begin the work of enforcing uniformity.¹ It can hardly be necessary in the present day to prove, that outward habits are to be ranked among things indifferent, and that the clergy, therefore, ought to comply with such injunctions as are given by the legal enactments of the country. but the general antipathy exhibited in London and elsewhere to the cap and surplice prove that the consciences of brethren were then easily offended, while the methods used to remedy the disorder show that such scruples were not always treated with becoming tenderness.² The majority of the London clergy complied with the order concerning the unity of apparel, but a considerable number refused to do so, and were subsequently deprived of their preferments. This species of tacit resistance to the authority of the crown was not confined to the lower orders of the clergy, or to those whose situation in life, or want of education, might lead us to doubt the probability of their estimating the question fairly, but men of considerable weight entertained scruples on the subject, and some of them were even exposed to the penalties of the law.³ Sampson, dean of Christ Church, and Humphrey, president of Magdalen College, Oxford, were cited before the ecclesiastical commission, and required to conform in the use of the cap and surplice, and though they wrote a most submissive petition,⁴ declaring their scruples and unwillingness to comply, because the law concerning the restoration of the ceremonies of the Roman church is joined with the hazard of slavery, necessity, and superstitution, yet no alternative was left them but that of surrendering their scruples or their places.⁵

§ 417. Their conduct throughout seems to have been that of men of tender consciences, not of persons obstinately bent on following their own devices, yet Sampson was imprisoned and deprived,⁶

(a) That is, according to the rubric of 1549; see § 743 (b), 9.

¹ Strype's *Parker*, i 309

² Strype's *Grindal*, 144

³ Strype's *Parker*, i 322.

⁴ Strype's *Parker*, iii No. 30, i. 323. ⁵ *Ibid* i. 327. ⁶ *Ibid* i. 368.

and Humphrey, after having been connived at for ten or eleven years, ultimately complied with the ordinances of the church. Such Christian and dignified submission as was exhibited by these men could not be expected from all, nor, indeed, did all others display it, but that species of insolent opposition to all church discipline, of which instances subsequently occur, was of later growth, and may possibly owe its origin to the severities now practised. In estimating the fault or the punishment of these men, our judgments are liable to err, from not knowing what opinions were generally entertained about the dresses themselves (*). In the present day it seems absurd to talk of the necessary connexion between popery and a square cap and surplice; yet, where knowledge was scarce, and prejudice strong, such a connexion existing in the minds of the people might have produced infinite harm. At all events, these disputes among churchmen must have been very injurious to the cause of real piety. It may now appear probable, that greater concessions to the weakness of sincere brethren might have been made with advantage by the stronger and the sounder members of our distracted church. They would have imitated the true mother in the judgment of Solomon, and have been ready to concede their rights, to relinquish even the justice of their cause, sooner than suffer the object of their affections to be torn asunder in the struggle, and this idea rests on the opinions expressed by many individuals who were neither so much implicated as to become parties in the discussion, nor so far removed in point of time from the events as to be unable to understand the prejudices which influenced the sincere nonconformist.

§ 418 Jewel, though he conformed himself, and blames those who laid too great a stress on the matter, never seems to have been pleased with the dresses, and uses very strong expressions in disapprobation of them (*).

Sandys,¹ in his will of the date of 1558, says, when speaking of the rites and ceremonies of the church, 'So have I ever been and

(*) These opinions are expressed at length in a letter from Whittingham, dean of Durham, to Lord Leicester (Strype's *Parker*, iii 76, No 27, and i 329, ch xxxiii).

(*) 'De religione quod scribis, et veste scenica. o utinam id impetrari potuisset (Burnet, iii vi No. 57) Nos quidem tam bonæ causæ non defuimus. Sed illi, quibus ista tantopere placuerunt, credo, sequuti sunt inscitiam presbyterorum. quos, quoniam nihil aliud videbant esse, quam stipites, sine ingenio, sine

doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volebant populo commendari. Nam ut alantur bonæ literæ, et surrogetur seges aliqua doctorum hominum, nulla, o Deus bone, nulla hoc tempore cura suscipitur. Itaque quoniam vera via non possunt, istis ludicris ineptis teneri volunt oculos multitudinis.' Letter to Peter Martyr, 1559. So in the next of the same date 'Omnia docentur ubique purissime. In ceremoniis et larvis passim plusculum ineptitur' No. 58.

¹ Strype's *Whitgift*, i 548.

presently am persuaded, that some of them be not so expedient for this church now, but that in the church reformed, and in all this time of the Gospel, wherein the seed of the Gospel hath so long been sown, they may better be disused by little and little than more and more urged.' In a private letter to Peter Martyr, in 1560, he expresses himself much more adverse to the dresses ^(b)

Grindal had great scruples about the habits,¹ and wrote to Peter Martyr on the subject, who advised that in his private dress the bishop should certainly comply, but that if the public ministration in it would promote the idea of the mass, he had better not sanction what was wrong by his example, and that at all events he should continue to speak and teach against the use of the habits.² In a letter to Bullinger, 1566, he adds, that when the bishops, who had been exiles in Germany, could not persuade the queen and parliament to remove these habits out of the church, though they had long endeavoured it, by common consent they thought it best not to leave the church for some rites, which were not many, nor in themselves wicked, especially since the purity of the Gospel remained safe and free to them.

It may fairly be presumed, that Parker himself entertained some doubts concerning the points which were afterwards disputed between the puritans and the high church party, for in the questions prepared to be submitted to convocation in 1563,³ probably under his own direction, and certainly examined by himself, there are several which manifestly imply that such a difference of opinion might prevail. They refer to the abolition of the use of the vestments, of private baptism administered by lay persons, of organs and curious singing, of the answers of sponsors, &c.⁴ And Whitgift was one of a number of heads of houses in Cambridge who petitioned for a greater licence about the dresses

§ 419 The sentiments of foreign divines may seem to deserve less attention,⁵ inasmuch as they derived the great mass of their information from persons who were suffering in the cause of non-conformity, yet surely, whatever may have been the bias of the accounts which they received, they were less likely to be prejudiced on this side than the bishops were on that in which their personal authority was concerned, which seemed to be resisted by all who refused to comply with the injunctions of the court. These foreigners, in conjunction with the judicious advice which they invariably give, viz. that anything was better than that the

(b) 'Tantum manent in ecclesia turas speramus.' Burnet, iii. vi. No. 61
 nostra vestimenta illa papistica,
 Capas intellige, quas diu non dura-

¹ Strype's *Grindal*, 42.

² *Ibid.* 45.

³ Strype's *Ann.* i. 475.

⁴ Strype's *Parker*, i. 386, No. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 110.

church should be left destitute of pastors, in consequence of their scruples, frequently press upon the bishops the propriety of charitable concession, as far as it would be admitted by the government. The church of Scotland went so far as to address an epistle to their brethren in England,¹ in which, perhaps, they press the matter more strongly than it deserves; but these concurrent testimonies demonstrate one thing at least, that a great stress was laid upon the question, while the event proved that many ministers of God's word were silenced in consequence of the dresses enjoined, and it may be remarked, that England never became convinced of the propriety of her ecclesiastical habits till the opponents of her decent forms had power enough to cast them out of the church, and to substitute their own more superstitious simplicity (^a).

§ 420 Elizabeth herself was very peremptory on the question.² She could little brook resistance on any point; but when the scruple seemed so trifling, as on this subject it must have appeared to any one who was not under the influence of prejudice or passion, resistance to her mandates assumed the semblance of personal opposition. And when Parker and the other bishops had begun to execute the laws against nonconformists, they must have been more than men, if they could divest their own minds of that personality which every one must feel when engaged in a controversy, in which the question really is, whether he shall be able to succeed in carrying his plans into execution. The archbishop, indeed, who was first employed in this unpleasant task,³ seems to have experienced more of this feeling than, perhaps, be seemed his high station, yet the situation in which he was placed renders him an object of our pity rather than our blame. He probably foresaw the ill effects which nonconformity would bring upon the church, and prepared to resist the torrent with the bulwarks of severity and law. In this he found himself hardly supported as he could wish by the court, where there existed a strong party favourable to the puritans. He perceived, perhaps, that the odium of the measures which he was forced to adopt was thrown on the bishops, who were becoming more and more the objects of general dislike;⁴ and lamented, with prophetic boding, the conduct of some of the nobility, whose favour was raising up a party against

(^a) Clerk, writing on the question of the habits, speaks, 'de fanaticis nostris Superpellicianis et Galenianis,' and adds, 'ut quod temporis antehac artibus et scientiis solet attribui, id nunc futilissimis de lana caprina

altercationibus fallitur et consumitur.' Strype's *Parker*, iii 133, No 43. See some excellent observations about religious prejudice by Buchanan. Pearson's *Life of*, i. 115.

¹ Strype's *Parker*, iii 150, No. 51.

³ Strype's *Parker*, i. 117, 389

² See § 446 (^b).

⁴ *Ibid.* ii 323

the hierarchy, which would ultimately destroy every distinction of rank

§ 421. Little can be said in favour of the puritans, and those who rejected the ceremonies of the church, but that they were sincere in the objections which they raised against the use of rites corrupted in the church of Rome. Then scruples will in these days appear trivial, but they were not then esteemed so, as party feeling began to operate on both sides, each became anxious to enforce their own opinions, and in the warmth of controversy the nonconformists seem to have forgotten that they were disobeying the civil magistrate, and not to have considered that the bishops were only enforcing that which by law they were bound to enforce. The authority which the puritans withstood was not the mere spiritual authority which the episcopal function had bestowed on their judges, it was an indefinite and ample power conferred on the ecclesiastical commissioners, from the supremacy vested by the parliament in the queen. It was a power which the puritans may have deemed unnecessary, oppressive, and little suited to the character of Christian bishops, but they must have known that it was one which had been conferred on the hierarchy by the law of the land, and by the person in whose hands the executive was placed. But there are many considerations which should prevent us from passing any severe censure on either party: the new standard of opinion to which the disputants referred was one to which they had never been accustomed, the New Testament itself is very indistinct in settling such points, and to reason by analogy is a task which requires much temper and experience. The people, too, had been long trained to attach importance to ceremonies, and though ignorant of principles, were overjoyed in exercising the privilege of thinking for themselves, which they had just acquired. This exercise of their new right was highly unacceptable to the queen, and the government in some points tried to restrain it so much that the struggle, by degrees, became one for civil as well as for religious liberty.

§ 422 It appears, then, that neither the government in enforcing conformity as it did, nor the puritans in resisting it, can well be justified by any sound principles of Christian charity; the one imposed a yoke ^(a) when it was hardly necessary, the other rejected

(a) It should be remembered, that most of the regulations with regard to the distinctive dress of the clergy have gradually been given up, excepting, indeed, the surplice, and the square cap in the universities. Copes and tunics are almost forgotten, albes are confounded with surplices, and the gown and cassock, with the square cap and hood, are used ac-

cording to the discretion of the clergyman himself. It may indeed be questioned whether this has not gone too far. Perhaps the interests of the church would be best consulted, if, without adopting any distinctive habits, we all dressed so that the world might from our appearance presume that we belonged to the ministry.

it when it might and ought to have been borne. Nothing, therefore, could be more distressing than the situation of a conscientious bishop at such a period. It must have required a patience truly Christian not to have been irritated at the conduct of the nonconformists, and perhaps still more of Christian courage to enforce laws, when hindrances were thrown in the way by the powers above, and insults heaped on those in authority by the party against whom the severity was directed. Parker, the first metropolitian of this reign, was in many respects calculated to shine with splendour in the situation in which he was placed. he was liberal, and ever ready to advance the interests of learning or of talent, he was himself learned and studious, but his peculiar qualification seems to have been a desire and faculty of systematizing and improving every establishment to which he belonged, a talent which was extremely required at this period; but perhaps he was not well calculated to hold that even balance between contending errors, which the difficulties of the times placed more immediately in his hands. Before the heat of controversy had begun, concession was comparatively easy, without giving up the ordinances of the church, a latitude of practice might have been tolerated which became inadmissible when the question was brought to an issue. The remonstrance, too, of Parker might have had more influence on the queen than those of any other person, and it was her majesty who was most strenuous in insisting on conformity, but he seems hardly to have wished that his weak brethren should be dealt with more gently, for he was very peremptory in his proceedings with Sampson,¹ though he afterwards kindly wrote in his favour when ejected from the deanery, and in this conduct was strikingly opposed to Grindal, who entreated the dean, even with tears in his eyes, to comply in the use of the habits.² So again, when thirty-seven of the London clergy refused compliance with the ecclesiastical dresses, and of these some of the best ministers, by the acknowledgment of the archbishop himself, he does not appear to have adopted any conciliatory steps, or to have treated them as brethren in Christ. There is no reason to question the sincerity of his motives, and his judgment was approved by many persons (especially by Cox, bishop of Ely), who hoped that by reducing the clergy of the metropolis, all difficulty would be obviated elsewhere.³ But where severity is used in cases of conscience, Christian charity is often lost sight of, and the omission never takes place but at the certain loss of the party who neglect it. The sufferers were deemed confessors by their friends, and the party of the puritans was strengthened by their punishment.

¹ Strype's *Parker*, i. 327² *Ibid* i. 368 and 430³ *Ibid* i. 430.

§ 423. It must not be supposed that all the objections (*) of the nonconformists were confined to the ecclesiastical dresses, or that the cap and surplice were the only points against which their animadversions were directed. The Book of Common Prayer was generally attacked, many of its ceremonies, especially in Baptism, and the Churching of Women, were rejected, and organs and church music were considered as unchristian.

The discipline of the church, too, was impugned. Objections were raised against episcopacy itself, as well as against the lordly and temporal authority possessed by the bishops; while the ordination of ministers, without their being elected by their flocks, was accounted antiscritptural, and the whole was summed up in the want of a presbytery.

At the same time they brought forward many real abuses, which the church could more easily deplore than remedy. With regard to the scarcity of preaching ministers, the blame seems to belong exclusively to neither party; for though the hierarchy undoubtedly silenced many who would have laboured in this service, yet the nonconformists might have easily obviated the difficulty by accepting the ecclesiastical dresses thus Withers, at Bury, conformed, because he found his congregation much less offended at the use of the cap than at his own silence¹. The non-residence, too, which was licensed by authority, could form no just ground of separation from the church, as not being essential to the establishment, and the religious conformist must have viewed the neglect of a parish in the same light in which it appeared to his dissenting brethren.

§ 424. In the Baptismal Service it was objected, that the use of the sign of the cross was superstitious, and borrowed from the church of Rome. as if any misuse of a custom derived from the primitive church could render its nature sinful, or that the danger of misconception were not sufficiently guarded against, in the words of the prayer which accompanies that part of the service — that the answers were made in the name of the child, and not in that of the sponsors, a difference which at all events is not very important, since the very act of bringing the infant to the font implies all that the words can convey—viz, that the persons so admitted would become the servants of the Lord into whose faith they were baptised. Lay baptism, too, fell under their censure; but it has been questioned whether it were ever authorized by our church. It had formerly been the custom for midwives to ad-

(*) The objections of which the heads are here set down may be seen in Burnet's *Reformation*, iii No 79 Append., Neal's *Puritans*, i 192, but many are of course omitted, and a full reference to them would exceed the prescribed limits of this work, as they lie scattered in various places

¹ Strype's *Parker*, i 374.

minister this sacrament in cases of necessity, and as this was not distinctly forbidden, the custom was continued, and thus tacitly sanctioned (a).

In the Churching of Women, they liked not that she should be veiled of necessity, on her first appearance in the congregation, or that she should always be seated in the same place; customs which it is ridiculous to discuss, and which, in the process of time, have been disused in most parishes, and only partially retained in others.

The offence which was taken at organs and church music, as practised in cathedrals, was rather general, and the question of rejecting them was agitated in the Convocation of 1562.¹ But if these churches were served in those days with as little reverence among the subordinate members, as is sometimes now apt to be the case, it is no wonder that sober-minded Christians should be offended. and yet to correct such negligence seems a more reasonable and obvious remedy, than to deprive our church of a species of service, which, to those who are accustomed to it, is the most elevating and delightful in the world.

§ 425 In point of discipline, the differences of opinion were so numerous, that it will be enough if we confine ourselves to the prominent features of the objections, without entering on the degrees in which they were held, or the alterations which at different periods grew into vogue with the nonconformists. The chief stumbling-block was episcopacy, as a distinct order in the church, and the authority over the rest of the ministry which this distinction produced in the body corporate of the establishment. Those who maintained this objection might be again divided into

(a) Archbishop Sandys says, in his will, 'for the private baptism to be ministered by women, I take neither to be prescribed nor permitted' (Strype's *Whitgift*, i 548) But in the oath administered in the diocese of Canterbury, in 1567, to Eleanor Pead, a midwife, is the following clause, 'Also, that in the ministration of the sacrament of baptism in the time of necessity, I will use apt and the accustomed words of the same sacrament, that is to say, these words following, or the like in effect *I christen thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, and none other profane words' (Strype's *Annals*, I ii 243) The oath in such a case may have been borrowed from the old formulary, and have been continued, without being particu-

larly attended to, for the sake of a fee paid to some ecclesiastical officer. The questions asked according to the Prayer Book of 1549, 1552, and 1560, seem to leave little doubt that the custom was sanctioned. 'By whom was the child baptized? Who was present when the child was baptized? Whether they called upon God for grace and succour in that necessity? With what thing or what matter they did baptize the child? Whether they think the child to be lawfully and perfectly baptized?' expressions which hardly agree with the idea of the child's having been baptized by a minister, and which questions are for that reason generally omitted at present, though they have been considerably altered in point of words

two parties; the one was dissatisfied with episcopacy in the abstract, the dissatisfaction of the other was confined to the temporal state and civil functions of the bishops; but among the mass of the nonconformists and their followers, who were often very ignorant on such subjects, such a distinction was little attended to. They hated the bishops from being taught that their office was unscriptural, and their proceedings unchristian, and they troubled not themselves to mark the difference between the office itself, and the temporal authority vested in the bishops of the church of England.

The alleged want of an efficient presbytery was closely connected with this question, and with the circumstance that all ecclesiastical power was given exclusively to the bishops, who were appointed by the crown. Most of the exiles for religion, who on their return formed the influential part of the church of England, had been familiar with establishments abroad, in which the individual pastors were possessed of considerable weight in the government of the church and its concerns. On their arrival in the land of promised rest, they found that this spiritual power was in no degree conferred on themselves, but that they were subjected to a very peremptory method of treatment before the ecclesiastical commission, the proceedings of which were quite unsupported by the general tenor of the law of the land. The seeds of civil liberty were throughout the whole struggle closely mixed up with the complaints of the puritans, and the same men who had learnt to search for the truth on religious subjects, and to pursue it in spite of the powers of this world, which were arrayed against it, were little likely, from human motives, to submit to injunctions, however reasonable, which were arbitrarily imposed.

§ 426 The dispute as to the calling of ministers chiefly owes its origin to the same source. The warm upholders of this opinion would have said that ordination consisted virtually in the elective call of the flock, that this formed the essence of the appointment to the ministry, and that without it, all ordination was the invention of man, and not the institution of God. Its more moderate friends would have maintained that the laying on of the hands of the presbytery was sufficient, without the presence of a bishop, provided the ministry of the person admitted were not unacceptable to the parish. Between these extremes there exist many smaller varieties, many plausible errors, into which all men are apt to run, when they set up their opinions as the test of right and wrong.

The absence of spiritual discipline was a source of complaint with all parties; and the nonconformists lamented, with some

show of reason, that the only exercise of it, which remained, was confined to non-essentials in religion, of which they themselves were the unfortunate victims and it was the observation of one of the best wishers to the church,¹ that ecclesiastical offices were now misused to private gain, rather than public benefit. The country had been used, under the auspices of the court of Rome, to a strict inspection as to some particulars relating to morals, at least to the idea of it. In the presbyterian churches, a great deal of real discipline was preserved, and much actual superintendence exercised, but the power of the church, as it now existed in England, was inadequate to keep up the old episcopal jurisdiction which had been carried on in former days, and from her adopting little of the presbyterian government, she wanted the discipline of combination, with which the diffusion of power under that system invested the ministerial body. But it may fairly be questioned whether this species of authority be not in its nature wrong. There are but two principles on which punishment can ever be administered with advantage: first, when severity is used for the sake of the person punished, and secondly, when it is done for the sake of civil society when the penalty inflicted may reform the aggressor, or prevent the recommission of the crime in others, by the force of terror, and the influence of example. The latter of these may be fully exercised by lay courts; and though on many occasions ecclesiastical discipline may further the former object, yet the authority with which it invests the pastor makes him, as it were, a judge over his brethren, and wherever temporal disability is connected with ecclesiastical censure^(a), it gives the minister of the Gospel a character which will probably injure the state of his own mind, and perhaps alienate the affections of his flock, while it cannot fail to make both parties refer their conduct to the laws and institutions of men, rather than to the commandments of God. But it was the want of power vested in the subordinate ministry which was the real cause of the present dissatisfaction, and neither the policy of the queen, nor the general state of the clergy, gave any great probability that this would be granted.

§ 427 The most obvious evil which existed at this time was the want of an effective ministry, and for the sake of improving

(a) In our own church, temporal pains are attached to spiritual punishments (a man, for instance, who was excommunicated, could not, under the then state of the law, perform any legal act), and that proper jealousy which the civil courts have always exercised, lest the rights of the subject should be

in any way infringed, has by degrees driven churchmen from attempting to put ecclesiastical censures in force, except on very flagrant occasions; so that even a clergyman must have been guilty of excessive misconduct, and have disgraced the church, before the bishops' court can interfere for his correction.

¹ Burleigh's Letter to Aylmer, 1579. Stalpe's *Aylmer*, 188.

the clergy, exercises were established in most of the dioceses, which were called *prophesyings*, from an expression used by St Paul¹ The manner of carrying them on varied in different places,² but was generally as follows³ The diocese was divided into convenient districts, and the clergy belonging to each were assembled at stated periods about once in the fortnight, when, together with prayers, some text of Scripture was discussed by speakers appointed by the moderator, who was himself nominated by the bishop or archdeacon, and was, in some dioceses, the dean rural of the deanery. From the injudicious proceedings in particular districts, in which subjects tending rather to schism than to edification were brought forward, objections were raised by those in authority, and the mind of the queen was so prejudiced against them that they were generally suppressed in 1577, though approved of by many persons well able to judge on the question^(a) They formed, as it were, a nucleus for the presbytery, which might easily have been abused, but had they been judiciously carried on, they might have supplied a defect which is still strongly felt. A young clergyman, who has had but little experience in the care of a parish, might, in such a body, have found an authorized guide for his own conduct, on many minor points in which he hardly ventures to apply to his archdeacon or his bishop; and by the frequent discussion of such questions the priesthood would become better able to perform their duties, while the very act of thus assembling would have given a spiritual tone to the meetings of the clergy, the present want of which must certainly be deplored. There was at the time less trouble in silencing the whole than in remedying or preventing these disorders; and the disinclination which had been felt towards these prophesyings prevented the adoption of such exercises as might have produced all the good, without occasioning the evils complained of. Something of this sort was rendered the more necessary^(b), on account of the scarcity of preachers and educated clergymen, but Elizabeth seems not to have possessed any very correct views with regard to their improvement. She applied, it is true, certain lapsed revenues to the foundation of schools, and patronised the universities, but she adopted such measures with respect to church property as would

(a) Lord Bacon expresses his approbation of these exercises strongly (Strype's *Ann* v 480) Sir Francis Knowles, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Thomas Smith commended them, to say nothing of the bishops who sanctioned their introduction (Strype's *Ann* iii 477).

(b) Whitgift says, 'I thinke it not amisse for the ordinarie to appoint some kinde of exercise for the unlearned ministers, but not in that forme' Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 128, No xiii 12

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 29, &c.

² Strype's *Ann* iii 325, 472, 481

³ Grindal, 260

have rendered it impossible that England should have ever possessed a learned ministry, had not her proceedings been partially stopped, and subsequently, in some degree, remedied. The dignified clergy were during her reign pillaged most unmercifully, and though many a sensible and conscientious person might have esteemed the former revenues of the bishops too great, yet it must be remembered that high situations soon become nugatory, unless they are supported by a corresponding income. She was enabled to commit these depredations on the establishment, by an act which passed in the first year of her reign, allowing her to exchange the lands of vacant bishoprics for impropriated tithes, and though the crown was probably not much the richer for this iniquitous bill, yet the courtiers and favourites of the queen made such use of it as to render the church unable to support its ministry.

§ 428 The great engine for the government of the church, during this reign, was the court of ecclesiastical commission. It was established under the eighth clause of the Act of Supremacy, which allowed the queen to delegate her own power to persons appointed for that purpose. It was composed chiefly of churchmen, but the names of some of the laity were always joined with them, although, as might have been expected, the laymen took less interest in the transactions, and frequently absented themselves, when offensive measures were to be carried through. Its authority, like the queen's supremacy, was indefinite, and unlimited, and strongly resembled that exercised by the star chamber. The efforts of the commissioners were first directed against nonconformity, and irregularities of less importance; and though their severity fell the heaviest on those whose scruples or fancies prevented them from complying with the regulations about dresses, &c, yet the court soon began to be oppressive to the poorer clergy,¹ for whoever was invested with such a power as was intrusted to the members of it, was enabled to convert it to his own private advantage, by means of bribes received from individuals exposed to prosecution, or who were liable to be brought before a court in which the proceedings were unknown and arbitrary: and the number of commissioners, in different parts of the country, allowed very unfit persons to be invested with the office.

The chief oppression,² however, arose afterwards from commissions of concealments, in which the queen granted a right of appropriating to the use of particular persons such property as by former confiscations belonged to the crown, but which had been transferred into other hands. The proceedings of the commis-

¹ Strype's *Parker*, ii 306

² *Ibid.* ii 224, and *Annals*, v. 162, 168

sioners were often most injurious to honest possessors, and one considerable branch of their profit arose from sums given to stay or prevent processes. The value of what was at stake was often enormous. The whole foundation of the church of Norwich was at one time in jeopardy of falling from the purposes for which it was made, and being converted into a private estate,¹ but the officers of the crown interfered, and though in danger for a considerable time, it was ultimately saved, and refounded by the queen in 1588.

§ 429 The granting such commissions is one among many impolitic acts with which the government of Elizabeth is marked. Security of person and property is the object for which men submit to the restraints of civil society, whatever, therefore, tends to render any tenure insecure, must in some degree unhinge the bands of society, and the feeling of the possibility of such insecurity is almost as bad, in this respect, as the reality. From the quantity of land which had changed its possessors within a few years, almost every rich subject must have held property which had once belonged to ecclesiastical bodies, and his title, therefore, have been liable to be called in question, unless his power preserved him from such apprehensions. Her conduct, then, must appear as injudicious as it was unjust. The ravage which was committed by Henry was the wasteful prodigality of a tyrant, yet to those who view the payment of the establishment as the means of promoting religion, not as the end, the alienation must appear an useful, though somewhat a harsh measure. Under Edward, the monarch was too weak to resist the avarice of those who governed, and Mary rather enriched than robbed the establishment; but Elizabeth laid her hands on all that she could grasp, though, for the sake of keeping up appearances, she restored some small portion in foundations connected with education. She acted towards the property of the church with no more prudence or forbearance than she did towards that of the crown, and in both seemed to look no further than the lifehold interest which she possessed in it. The improvident leases made by churchmen themselves tended to impoverish the revenues of the establishment, but for one case on record where the clergy were to blame, several might be found where the interference of the court obliged them to give away, in a legal form, what belonged to their successors.

The queen never liked to apply for money to parliament, lest the members should interfere with her proceedings,² but wasted the church in paying those courtiers whom her parsimony prevented her from rewarding otherwise.³ She did not begin the

¹ Strype's *Parker*, iii. 450. ² Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* iv. 70, and 233.

³ Strype's *Grindal*, 42, 49.

custom, but she ought to have put a stop to it ^(a) She did not, perhaps, allow it to go so far as the puritans wished, or satisfy the desires of her courtiers, but it went to such a length that England has felt it ever since Nor has the liberality of parliament, combined with the bounty of Queen Anne, been yet able to render our poorer livings adequate to the decent maintenance of a clergyman and were it not for the piety of those who, through the possession of private property, are enabled to devote their talents to the service of God, by entering into the ministry, a great number of parishes in England would be destitute of an educated pastor.

§ 430 The poverty of the church, in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, was excessive,¹ not only among the higher clergy, who were exposed to these attacks from the court, but among the lower and laborious individuals who possess no dignified station, and have no further worldly prospect than to provide bread for themselves and their families ^(a). At this moment, when from being allowed to marry they required greater incomes than before, the revenues of the church were labouring under a great depression, attributable to a combination of several causes

The wholesale alienation of church property which had taken place in the reign of Henry VIII. had unsettled the minds of the nation with regard to all tenures, might had legally been converted into right, and all men were ready to take advantage of the change ^(b) The court invaded the wealth of the higher clergy,² and they in their turn were often little careful of the interests of their successors,³ and sometimes raised a revenue by appropriating to themselves the income which was originally granted for the officiating incumbent⁴ Where the law did not strictly interfere, it was not very likely that lay-patrons would be very scrupulous as to the person to whom they committed the cure of souls, and to use the words of the learned writer of the preface to Bullinger's

^(a) Archbishop Parker, in a letter to Elizabeth which he wrote from his death-bed, remonstrates with her on this point (Strype's *Parker*, ii 430)

^(a) Parker inhibited Grindal from holding a visitation of the London clergy (at which fees, procurations, and synodals, are paid to the bishop), because they had scarcely wherewith to buy food and raiment (Strype's *Grindal*, 57). Grindal, in his letter to Elizabeth, says (*Ibid* 565), 'So that at this day, in mine

opinion, where one church is able to yield sufficient living for a learned preacher, there are at the least seven churches unable to do the same, and in many parishes of your realm, where there be seven or eight hundred souls (the more is the pity), there are not eight pounds a year reserved for a minister' (see also Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 171, No 26)

^(b) As an instance of such proceedings, see the account of the visitation of the Savoy (Strype's *Grindal*, 236).

¹ See § 410

³ *Ibid* vi. 266, No. 32, 1

² Strype's *Annals*, vi 466, No 29.

⁴ *Ibid*. vi 471, No 32, ii

Decads,¹ 'Patrons now-a-days search not the universities for a most fit pastor, but they post up and down the country for a most gainful chapman he that hath the biggest purse, to pay largely. not he that hath the best gifts, to preach learnedly, is presented' To this may be added the loss sustained through the discontinuance of fees and offerings which were made by the laity to the curates of their parishes.² Oblations made at shrines, the profits arising from pilgrimages, mortuaries and personal tithes (being the tenth of all men's clear gains), had in towns formed a considerable source of income to the clergy; these payments had now ceased, but the government had been far from interposing to supply the deficiency.³ The courtiers joined with the puritans in attacking the church, the latter to depress its power,⁴ the former to share in the spoil, and to render the clergy beggars, in order that they might depend on them (*).

(*) The whole question of Church property is one of vast importance to the country, and is unfortunately so frequently misunderstood, that it may prove useful to say something of the principles on which provision ought to be made for the clergy. The payment, if rightly arranged, will redound to the benefit of the whole body politic. Humanly speaking, labourers cannot be procured without hire, and their quality will correspond with the payment which is provided for them. Now men are paid either by consideration or by actual advantages (*i.e.* in a civilized country by money), and the consideration will itself depend on the esteem in which the profession is held, as well as indirectly on the rank and fortune which are independently possessed by those individuals who compose it. Thus, for instance, the profession of arms is honourable, and therefore the pay which is allotted to officers always has been, and should be, inadequate to support the rank which they hold in society, and yet we find men of family and fortune crowding into the profession for the sake of the honour to be acquired in it. Compare this service with the collection of customs or excise, and it will be found that the same pay in money will provide a very different species of person for the employment.

The duty of an established clergy is to promote the spiritual benefit of their brethren, and the reason why the state pays them at all is, that the spiritual and moral advancement of a country directly influences the prosperity of a state. For it may safely be asserted, that nothing but vice really injures a kingdom, and that states fall not from luxury, but from the vices which accompany luxury. In England, for instance, an individual may enjoy luxuries and conveniences unknown to people of the same station in other countries of modern Europe, or to the ancients, yet the commonwealth is the richer for our comforts, and we are still, comparatively speaking, far from being a vicious nation. The object, therefore, which the politician should have in view, in providing for an established clergy, is to assign such a remuneration to them as will procure a body of men whose rank in life will not be likely to render them irreligious, and whose attainments are such as to enable them to promote the civilization of society in general. There can be no doubt that much temporal wealth is not suited to promote Christianity, and that without temporal wealth, such an education cannot be procured in a civilized country, as will render the generality of teachers adequate to direct their flocks. The English politician has

¹ Strype's *Annals*, iv. 146.

³ Strype's *Grindal*, 78.

² Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 171.

⁴ Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 146, 147.

§ 431. The events which took place between the settlement of the church and the death of Parker are not in themselves very important or interesting ; and since we have already taken a general view of the leading features which distinguished the ecclesiastical proceedings, a brief account of the various occurrences must suffice. When the chief points were settled, as to belief and discipline, it remained only to allow matters to take their own course, and to observe how the laws and ordinances answered the purposes for which they were intended. Activity and exertion were necessary among the clergy, in carrying on their ministerial duties, but the great object was to establish throughout the country the habit of observing what the legislature had enacted. Jewel,¹ in speaking of the state of the country in the beginning of the reign, says that the people were very ignorant and superstitious, but very much inclined to religion, a state in which much labour was required, but in which the exertions of the ministry were not likely to prove unsuccessful. Few, however, seem to have trod this unpretending

not the difficulty of adjusting this balance, for by the great mercy of God we possess an establishment in which the clergy are by their station mixed with every rank in society, and on the whole adequately paid. In a scale which it has taken so many centuries to form, and in which so much has depended on circumstances apparently accidental, there must exist some pieces of preferment which seem to be paid too largely, and we know that there are many more, in which the workman is inadequately remunerated. In a constitution such as ours, the true friends of the establishment will always have the eye fixed on what can most easily be remedied, and not on what a theorist might originally have desired, such laws, therefore, as tend to support ecclesiastical discipline among the clergy themselves, and to make us perform our duties more adequately, must be deemed beneficial, and every step should be promoted which will provide for the poorer clergy, for curates in cases of non-residence, and for the incumbents in livings where the tithes are impropriated, which are perhaps at present the worst paid of any species of preferment ; but he must be a very bold, and ought to be a very cautious legislator, who would

venture to attack the oldest tenures in this or any other country. That the legislature has a right to interfere with property belonging to either bodies corporate or individuals, be they laymen or ecclesiastics, cannot be denied ; but the right is the same in one case as in the other, and in both the necessity which calls for such a step should be clearly proved. It is always much more safe to tax the property of some for the support of others than to touch the property itself. If the tenths on the larger preferments were increased, the sums thus thrown into the hands of the governors of Queen Anne's bounty would gradually provide for the increase of smaller livings, nor should it be forgotten, that probably one half of the English bishoprics do not amount in income to the salaries of the judges, who upon a fair estimate of the nature of their offices, and the rank they rightly hold in society, are by no means too highly rewarded. And that even these incomes of the bishops are made up in many cases of impropriations, where the maintenance, which *in foro conscientie* is due to him who performs the spiritual duties of the parish, is taken from him, and given to another.

¹ Burnet, iii 207, fol 495, 8vo.

path of spiritual and quiet toil · the one party were eager to introduce innovations incompatible with what was established, the other were employed in repressing these attempts, and in providing for their temporal interests. The consequences of this were such as might have been expected, and are characterized in a mournful description given by Strype, which is chiefly drawn from the papers of Lord Buileigh ¹ ‘The churchmen heaped up many benefices, and resided upon none, neglecting their cures, many of them alienated their lands, made unreasonable leases and wastes of their woods, granted reversions and advowsons to their wives and children, or to others for their use. Churches ran greatly into dilapidations and decays, and were kept nasty, and filthy, and undecent for God’s worship.’

§ 432 The declaration of open war between the high and low church parties may be considered to have taken place in 1566,² when the proclamation of the queen gave, as it were, the sanction of law to the Advertisements ^(a) which the bishops had previously put forth, and they began to enforce uniformity among the London clergy (March 26). Of 98 who appeared before the commissioners 61 complied, and 37 refused, of which number, as Parker acknowledges, ‘were the best, and some preachers;’³ and, contrary to the expectation of their judges, they showed reasonable quietness and modesty. When the three months which the law allowed them for consideration had elapsed, they were *ipso facto* deprived of all their spiritual promotions,⁴ and in the beginning of the next year began to separate from the church, by carrying on private meetings for devotions and worship, which were conducted chiefly after the formula of the church of Geneva. They alleged as their excuse, that in the Common Prayer Book ‘the ceremonies of antichrist were tied to the service of God, so that no man might preach and administer the sacraments without them.’ The government was alarmed at such a symptom of dissent, and ecclesiastical commissioners were urged to exert themselves. During this period of

(a) The Advertisements are a set of canons to enforce uniformity of ‘doctrine and preaching, administration of prayer and sacraments, certain orders in ecclesiastical policy; outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical, and promises to be made by those entering on any ecclesiastical office (Sparrow’s *Coll.* 121). They were printed and published Jan. 25th, 1565, without the royal authority, by the ecclesiastical com-

missioners, from whence, indeed, they derive their name and are not called Articles or Ordinances (Strype’s *Parker*, i. 313). That part which referred to dress was sanctioned by the proclamation, as above, and the others seemed to have been used as if they were law (Strype’s *Parker*, i. 312). A different copy of these is printed in Strype (*Strype’s Parker*, iii. 84, No. 28).

¹ Strype’s *Parker*, ii. 204.

³ Ibid. 429.

² Ibid. i. 427.

⁴ Ibid. 478, ch. ix.

schism there were not wanting instances of men, who, though they disapproved of the habits, yet conformed to the established law, following the suggestions of Beza, who advised his friends modestly to protest against these proceedings,¹ but by no means to desert their flocks for matters in themselves not ungodly.

§ 433 This schism of the London clergy, in itself injurious to the Christian welfare of the state, was rendered far more formidable by the appearance of the same spirit in one of the cradles of our church establishment, where it might taint the source from which sound sense and pure religion ought to flow. The university of Cambridge had for some time been agitated by the question of the habits, and, as was natural, the younger members generally ran into the novelties of the day, and discarded the appointed dresses, but at the end of 1570 the flame broke forth. Thomas Cartwright, B D, Lady Margaret reader of Divinity, had been delivering lectures,² in which he attacked the liturgy, and episcopal government, and had contributed much to promote the insubordination which had manifested itself. He was Fellow of Trinity College, of which Whitgift was head, and perhaps from this cause Whitgift came forward as the decided opponent of his opinions, that the bane and antidote might proceed from within the same walls.³ Cartwright had been ordered to retract certain opinions contrary to episcopal government, which he had previously maintained in six articles, acknowledged and subscribed by him, and after abundant delay and forbearance on the part of the authorities, he was deprived of his readership. He was anxious to have maintained a public disputation, but he would only do so on his own terms.⁴ He required to know beforehand his opponents and his judges, meaning such judges as he himself should best like; but Whitgift, who had many private discourses with him, repeatedly offered to dispute with him, on condition that both parties should commit their arguments and positions to paper, a demand to which no reasonable disputant could object. The circumstance of being silenced by authority seems to have exalted Cartwright into a confessor in the cause of puritanism, but if episcopacy were to be upheld at all, no gentler steps could have been adopted. If a government be strong it need not persecute or punish every one who impugns its form or constitution, but how can it allow such a person to hold a situation of trust under it, particularly one which is likely to be influential in forming the sentiments of the rising generation?⁵ Cartwright subsequently vacated his fellowship in Trinity College, according to the statutes (Sept. 1572), in consequence of not taking orders, about which he felt some scruples, because he had

¹ Strype's *Parker*, i. 483

³ *Ibid* iii. 19, No. ix.

² Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 38.

⁴ *Ibid*. i. 42.

⁵ *Ibid*. i. 95

experienced no call to the ministry through the invitation of some parish, a point which he deemed a necessary qualification, as if to educate the upper orders, and prepare young men for the church, were not as suitable an office for a minister of God's word as any other part of the ecclesiastical duties. This dispute created a kind of personal struggle between Whitgift and Cartwright, and when the one published his answer to the *Admonition to Parliament* ^(*) (a book set forth by the puritans, attacking the whole government of the church, and in the composition of which Cartwright had probably a considerable hand), the other immediately replied, and Whitgift defended his answer. As they reasoned on different principles, it is not extraordinary that the partisans of both sides should deem their own champion successful, and, as is ordinarily the case, the disputants mutually remained of their original opinion, while the cause of truth was promoted by discussion, though the harmony of the church was disturbed.

§ 434 (A.D. 1571) The proceedings of the convocation and parliament of this year require a good deal of attention, but in order to get a clear view of their effects, it will be necessary to divide the subjects on which the several laws were enacted

In the convocation, the Articles of Religion were again subscribed, but any remarks on this event will more properly be introduced when we enter on the history of the Thirty-nine Articles, a subject so important as to require a distinct chapter ¹

The establishment of a code of ecclesiastical law was also brought into consideration. In the convocation a set of canons pertaining to discipline were framed, for the regulation of the officers of the church, and to declare the duties attached to bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c., as well as to prevent the evils arising from non-residence, pluralities, and corrupt presentations. They are extant in Sparrow's *Collection*,² though they never received the sanction of the queen, who thought that the authority of the

(*) A full account of this dispute may be found by consulting the index to Strype. The principles on which the argument in the *Admonition* is conducted were 'that we must of necessity have the same kind of government that was in the apostles' time, and is expressed in the Scripture, and no other. The other was, that we may not in any wise, nor on any consideration, retain in the church anything that hath been used under the pope' (Strype's *Parker*, ii. 140). A method of reasoning, in which the first part is

a mere *petitio principii*, the latter a fallacy. The episcopalian appeals to the Scriptures in defence of his form of church government (see § 460), and believes it to be that adopted by the apostles. And while we acknowledge that the church of Rome has preserved the vital points of Christianity, as maintained in the first five articles of our church, we must allow that no misuse of subordinate matters ought to prevent us from adopting them, if in themselves they are admissible.

bishops, derived from her supremacy, was sufficient to enforce them. Yet Grindal justly observed, when Parker urged the adoption of them in the province of York, that the fine words of her majesty might fly away as the wind, and would little serve the bishops, if they were adjudged to have incurred the penalties of a præmunire, which could only be guarded against by a legal enactment of them, derived from the royal approbation *in scriptis*.

§ 435 The same subject was brought forward in the house of commons,¹ and reference was made to the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*,² a book drawn up chiefly by Cranmer,³ but which was laid aside, and never legally enacted, in consequence of the interruption occasioned by the death of Edward VI (*). But Elizabeth was ever adverse to reformation in religion which originated in any authority but her own, and though it appears that a committee was appointed, yet as they proceeded to examine irrelevant questions, it served but to excite the anger of the queen, and a stop was put to this and several other bills. It is curious to observe during this reign the growing power of the house, which, as it began to exert its own strength, without having learnt to confine the discussion to those subjects which properly belonged to the cognizance of such an assembly, was from time to time checked by the arbitrary mandates of the queen, who in the moment when she most dreaded its influence acted towards the representatives of the people with a sternness and tyranny which would never have been borne unless it had been exercised by a person of consummate skill, who knew when to give way as well as when to press her authority. A similar attempt at remodelling the ecclesiastical laws was again made during the next year by Wentworth, but her majesty sent a message to the house through the speaker (1572),⁴

(*) The title of the book is '*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, ex auctoritate 1^m R. Henrici VIII inchoata, deinde per R. Edwardum VI. profecta adauctaque in hunc modum, atque nunc ad pleniorum ipsarum reformationem in lucem ædita, Lond. Day Ap.¹ 571.*' A copious abstract of it may be seen in Collier, *Ecc. Hist* ii 326, &c. It consists of fifty-one titles, besides an Appendix, '*De Regulis juris*' The most remarkable peculiarities of it are, that it makes blasphemy and heresy ultimately punishable with death. It is justly severe on adultery, punishing the guilty party with imprisonment and banishment, and not

allowing them to marry, a licence which it grants to the innocent. It directs that a strict examination shall take place before institution, and forbids pluralities. It directs that the dean rural shall be an annual officer appointed by the bishops, and that he shall report the conduct of the clergy; that archdeacons shall reside within the limits of their jurisdiction, that prebendaries shall give public lectures in the cathedral. It appoints, besides, provincial synods and diocesan synods to be annually held in Lent. It gives directions with regard to parochial discipline, recommends that excommunication shall

¹ Strype's *Parker*, ii. 62.

³ § 330.

² Strype's *Ann* iii 93, &c.

⁴ Strype's *Parker*, ii. 203.

declaring that her pleasure was that from henceforth no bills concerning religion should be preferred or read in the house unless the same were considered and liked by the clergy, and at the same time demanded to see the bills in progress. All this was conceded to her sovereign command; and we can the less wonder either at her interference, or at the deference which was paid to her orders, when we consider that the obvious tendency of these latter measures was to undermine the church establishment, and totally to alter its form. The question in both these cases was chiefly spiritual, over which the house of commons could, properly speaking, have no control, nor ought they to have legislated beyond the point in which the temporalities were directly or indirectly implicated, here they rightly exercised their legislative power, and we have during this session several laws which apply solely to churchmen. By chap 12, 13 Eliz, such clergymen as had been ordained by any other form than that prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer were made incapable of retaining their preferments, unless they subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles, which same subscription was required of all who were instituted to any benefice: and if the benefice exceeded thirty pounds per annum, they were required to have taken the degree of B.D. at least in one of the universities, no one could be ordained a priest before twenty-four years of age, or a deacon before twenty-three; *i. e.* if he were so ordained, he was not a priest according to the law of England, and could hold no English preferment. So again, by 10 and 20, 13 Eliz, it is enacted that no lease of ecclesiastical property shall be good in law if granted for a longer time than twenty-one years, or three lives that tithes shall not be let, except the incumbent reside on his living, or lease them to a resident curate all which matters are purely temporal, though they refer to ecclesiastical persons.

§ 436 During this session the universities were incorporated, and invested with certain legal privileges,¹ and in the next (1572) a provision was made for the support of the poor, which, notwithstanding its misuse, and the consequent objections which have been raised against it, ought still to be the glory of our soil; and while we boast that no one can be a slave who has once touched our happy land, we may rejoice that such care is taken of every

be rarely used, and only by the bishops, and that impenitent persons under excommunication shall after forty days be handed over to the civil power, to be imprisoned and fined. In each case there is an appeal from the archdeacon to the

bishop, then to the archbishop, and lastly to the king, who shall cause the question to be decided in a provincial synod, or before commissioners appointed by the crown. See also § 482 (a). It has been reprinted at Oxford.

¹ Statutes of the Realm

inhabitant, that none can be starved in England without a direct breach of our laws. It may not be improper to remark that the alteration now made in the law did not at the time produce any great change in the treatment of paupers. The custom in England, as I believe in all Christian countries, had always been to relieve the indigent by means of voluntary contributions, which were here collected by churchwardens, and disposed of by them. The vagrant laws had, with severe penalties against the idle and profligate, provided for the wants of those who were really distressed, and we have many acts of parliament which give directions with regard to both these points¹ (March 25, 1552). One went so far as to appoint that, in case of the refusal of any of the parishioners to contribute, the churchwarden was to apply to the bishop's court, and the bishop to proceed against them. But 3, 14 Eliz., provided for the poor by assessment throughout the parish, and subjected those who refused to pay the sum assessed to imprisonment upon conviction before two justices of the peace. The spirit, therefore, of this law, which is justly worthy of our admiration, is due to Christianity, the legal enactment to our ancestors, and it may fairly be questioned whether the embodying it in its present form, however necessary, has not divested the relief of the poor of its peculiar feature, and made this species of charity a duty very unwillingly performed.

§ 437 But as some of the most important laws passed during this session refer to the Roman Catholics, it will be necessary to turn our attention towards them. It is allowed on all hands that the measures adopted at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth were conciliatory, and they were at first met by a corresponding return on the part of the majority so treated.² The Roman Catholics did generally conform to the worship of our church, to which, though they might not have approved of all the alterations in it, they could raise no sound objections. For, as the queen herself wrote to the duke of Anjou, in it 'there was no part that had not been, yea, that was not at that day used in the church of Rome; and that, if anything more were in ours, the same was part of the holy Scripture.'³ And Lord Montacute, 'a most devout follower of the Romish religion,' argued in its favour to the court of Spain, 'that no other religion was brought into England than that which was consonant with the holy Scriptures, and the four first oecumenical councils.'⁴ This state of things continued till the publication of the bull of Pius V., 1569 (*),

(*) The bull is dated Feb. 23rd, 1569, and may be found in Latin and English in Fowls' *Popish Treasons*, p. 331, Fuller, ix. 93, only

¹ Burnet, ii. 146, fol. 354, 8vo

² Strype's *Grindal*, 98.

³ Strype's *Annals*, iii. 55

⁴ Camden's *Elizabeth*, 19, 45

which forbade her subjects to pay any deference to the commands of one whom in the fulness of his power he had excommunicated, and when Felton was found bold enough to affix this document to the gates of the palace of the bishop of London (1570), he met with a fate which his mad and rebellious act justly merited, and became the cause of numberless ills to the members of his own communion. One of its first consequences was the enactment of three laws levelled directly against the Roman Catholics, to which allusion has been before made.

(A.D. 1571.) The first was entitled, An Act whereby certain Offences be made Treason¹ The offences were the affirming that Elizabeth was not a lawful sovereign, or that any one had a better title, that she was a heretic, schismatic, or infidel, or that the right of the crown could not be determined by law.

The second was against bringing in, and putting in execution, bulls and other instruments of the see of Rome. It made all liable to the penalties of treason, or a præmunire, who were directly or indirectly accessory to the bringing about a formal reconciliation with the see of Rome, in the case of any of her majesty's subjects. It did not affect absolutions given at confession.²

The third, an Act against fugitives over the sea, imposed on them the forfeit of their property, but in case of their good behaviour provided for their families while they were absent, and restored them to their possessions and rights a year after their return. A privilege was extended to peers, which made it necessary that they should be sent for by letters under the privy seal before they incurred these penalties.

§ 438 Yet these laws, however severe, were not put in execution till six years after their enactment, and five after the massacre of St Bartholomew had commenced the war of extermination, which the Roman Catholics wished to carry on against Protestants. Cuthbert Maine, a priest, was the first who suffered under them (1577), he was executed at Launceston, in Cornwall³ He is described by Camden as an obstinate maintainer of the pope's power against his prince. But the number of sufferers was destined soon to be increased. Their friends called them *martyrs*, their enemies branded them with the appellation of *traitors*, and they often partook strongly of the character of both.⁴ Had no

gives the translation, Bunsen, *Ref* vi. 522, No. 13, gives the Latin

Pius IV had, when he came to the papacy, in 1560, made attempts at a reconciliation, by means of Pálpalia, and again, through the bishop of Viterbo, and Sir N. Throgmorton,

ambassador in France, and an anxiety was expressed that the church of England should send deputies to the council of Trent, but the project failed. See *Fuller*, ix p 68, &c.

¹ Statutes of the Realm, 1 Eliz. 13, 2, 3

³ *Eliz.* 224

² Butler's *Catholics*, i. 352.

⁴ Butler's *Catholics*, i. 309.

succession been provided against the ravages of time, among the Roman Catholic priesthood, the stock of those who officiated in England must soon have been exhausted, but this was prevented by Dr. William Allen, who for his exertions was afterwards rewarded by the church of Rome with a cardinal's hat. The fruits of his first labours were ¹

The English college of secular clergy at Douay, 1568. it was removed to Rheims from 1578 to 1593, when it returned back to Douay. This was followed by the English college at Rome, for the education of the secular clergy, established in 1578

A seminary at Valladolid, in Spain, established for the same purpose about 1580.

College at Rome, about 1578, for seculars.

A seminary at Seville, ditto.

A seminary at Madrid

If the objects of these societies had been confined to the education of men destined to the ministry of religion, the Protestant, while he deplored this continued source of dissension, must have admired the zeal of the man who so rationally promoted the cause of his party, but these seminaries were made the hotbeds of sedition. The oath ^(a)² which was taken by the students in Scotland, where Mary allowed them a temporary place of refuge, in consequence of certain troubles at Douay, sufficiently marks the political tendency of some of these institutions, and the use which the enemies of England tried to make of these establishments as strongly points out the danger ³ which might be apprehended from them, and which indeed was partly realized by the conduct of some of their members. In January, 1581, the queen issued a proclamation, which commanded the relatives of children who were receiving their education in foreign countries to give notice to their several ordinaries, and to recall them within four months, and the sanguinary laws against seminarists and Jesuits were subsequently put in force. Persons and Campian came over into England in June, 1580, bearing with them a suspension of the bull of excommunication ⁴ as far as Roman Catholics were concerned, till the time when the same might publicly be executed. Persons, who was constituted the superior,⁵ 'tampered so far with the papists about deposing the queen, that some of them (I speak,

(a) 'I, A. B, do acknowledge the ecclesiastical and political power of his holiness—And that my zeal shall be for St Peter—against all heretical kings, princes, states, or powers, repugnant unto the same And al-

though I may pretend, in case of persecution, or otherwise, to be heretically disposed, yet in soul and conscience I shall help, aid, and succour the mother church,' &c

¹ Butler's *Catholics*, i. 492.

² Stayer's *Ann* iv. 337.

³ Ibid v. 57.

⁴ Camden's *Eliz.* 246

⁵ Ibid 247

says Camden, from their own credit), thought to deliver him into the magistrates' hand,'¹ and Campian wrote a challenge to the church of England, by the publication of which the government was excited to use every means for their apprehension. It does not appear that Campian was privy to this act of publication, and in consequence of the activity of pursuit which arose from it, Persons fled out of the kingdom; and Campian, having with three others been apprehended on the 15th of July (1581), was tried for denying the queen's supremacy, and executed in December

§ 439 (A.D. 1584.) It appears from Camden that some measures in themselves unwarrantable,² and excited by the danger and jealousy of the times, were used to entrap Roman Catholics; and the treasons of Somerville and Throgmorton, though they tended to keep the flame alive, cannot be brought forward as proofs of the necessity of any such activity, inasmuch as the treason itself probably originated in this very cause, and if it were not for the conduct of the court of Rome, as well as other Roman Catholic courts, if it were not for the opinion of men who were far better able to judge of the matter than ourselves, I mean the ministers of Elizabeth; if it were not for the undoubted testimony of loyal Roman Catholics of that period, we might fancy that the alarms about the queen's life, and the consequent severity towards the members of that communion, sprang from party zeal and blind cruelty. But the pope had excited and fostered two rebellions in Ireland,³ and Sir Richard Shelley, writing to his nephew, attributes the sufferings of her majesty's true servants to the jealousies caused by the heads of some seminaries, and unnatural subjects abroad,⁴ and in a letter to Lord Burleigh, in 1583, he says, 'That the misery that all Christendom suffered for was, by the sending of these Jesuits into England after such sort as it was and had been used.'

The immediate effect of these alarms, beyond the animosity excited against the Roman Catholics, was the formation of an association,⁵ in which the members promised to pursue, even to death, any one who was concerned in the murder of the queen; for the assassination of the Prince of Orange, and the plots real and pretended against the life of Elizabeth, had put the whole country into a ferment. and undoubtedly a Protestant might reasonably have dreaded an event which, by putting Mary of Scotland on the throne, would have exposed the church of England to very eminent peril. In this particular the conduct of Elizabeth herself seems liable to very just censure. The uncertainty of the succession tended above all other causes to prevent

¹ Strype's *Ann* vi 183, No 6.

² Camden's *Eliz* 294.

³ *Ibid* 236, 242.

⁴ Strype's *Annals*, v. 198.

⁵ Camden's *Eliz* 300.

the quiet settlement of the nation, for had any accident happened to her life, a thorough alteration would probably have ensued. Her delays and dalliance were excusable, if we view her merely as a woman, but she was a queen too, and the safety of the state was at stake she ought, therefore, to have sacrificed her own fancies to save the lives of her unquiet subjects, but selfishness was one of the strongest features of her character.

§ 440 In estimating the blame which is due to the government of Elizabeth, with regard to the treatment of the Roman Catholics, the question seems to involve principles of a very abstract nature, and to be by no means so clear as it is generally assumed to be. A government must always have a right to defend itself, but retaliation can only be justified on the plea of future prevention. It may be conceded by the Protestant, that great cruelty was used towards the Roman Catholics, and that the line of policy pursued, whether just or unjust, was very injudicious, that a sincere Roman Catholic priest might have acted against the statutes of Elizabeth upon mistaken principles, and probably that many did so. But, on the other hand, it seems likely that a Protestant at the time might fairly have esteemed these laws necessary and just, and upon abstract principles of justice they probably must be reckoned just, though it will be difficult to establish their necessity. The question would stand thus. the head of a body politic (the church of Rome) officially promulgates doctrines and assumes an authority^(a) incompatible with civil government, every one, therefore, who by any act maintains that authority, does virtually place himself beyond the pale of civil society. We are not at present discussing how such an individual ought to be treated. It is obvious that kindness and reason would be most likely to bring him home to a sense of his duty; but a government must have a right to use severity, and that upon the first principles of self-preservation.

§ 441 The question, therefore, which is to be solved is this: Whether a missionary Roman Catholic priest were placed under these circumstances^p If he brought over the bull of Pius V., he was obviously guilty of treason, and if he reconciled any English subject to the pope, who professed and held such language as the bull maintained, it would be difficult to show that he was less liable to the punishment of the law. And it appears equally obvious, that if in reconciling a Roman Catholic to the church, he disclaimed the objectionable authority of the pope, he must be in

(a) Pius V. pretended to free the subjects of Elizabeth from their allegiance to her. Clement VIII granted a plenary pardon to all the followers

and abettors of Tyrone, as in the case of a crusade. Camden's *Eliz* 581

foro conscientiae, free from the penalties incurred by a supposed act of treason, of which the guilt was not substantiated by the circumstances which attended it, inasmuch as it wanted the essence of the treason, the objectionable claim to the authority. The pope, as a sovereign, had waged a πόλεμος ἀσπονδος with the queen, a war in which no intercourse could be admitted, no quarter given or received. Whoever therefore was a papist, or performed any overt act in favour of the papacy, became a partisan of that cause, and liable to the penalty due to any prisoner in such a method of warfare. The alternative is a horrid one, but he is in fault who begins such a war, and no one can attribute this blame to Elizabeth or her councillors. Persons and Campian, when they came to England¹ and brought a modification of the bull, were guilty of treason, in *foro conscientiae*. The temporary suspension of the bull does in reality not alter the question, the bull was to be put in force whenever circumstances made it likely to be injurious to the country. We may pity men who were exposed to the necessity of committing such a treasonable act, if indeed they were bound in their consciences to obey the papal authority, but we must blame the pope who sent them, not the government which hanged men whose acts tended to overturn its authority. When the individual convicted disclaimed the objectionable tenet, he was sometimes pardoned, as in the case of Rishton, Bosgrove, and Orton,² though others were executed whose answers might have satisfied a reasonable tribunal.

§ 442. But in viewing the question with reference only to the cruelty of it, the state of danger and irritation arising from various injuries must fairly and fully be taken into consideration. The Roman Catholics as a body were carrying on a most vehement attack against Elizabeth, because she was a Protestant (1569) The pope had excommunicated her. (1565.) France and Spain had conspired for the extirpation of heresy. (1572.) In France the Roman Catholics had begun by trying to murder all their Protestant countrymen (*). Spain had given proofs of her tender mercies to Protestants in the Netherlands, and was preparing for the subjugation of England. Her own Roman Catholic subjects were excited to rebel against Elizabeth, as a body, they never attempted to give any pledge of their fidelity, and had such an attempt been made, the mass of English Roman Catholics would

(*) One of the most dreadful features connected with the massacre of St Bartholomew's consists in the approbation given to it by the court of Rome. Gregory XIII issued a bull for a jubilee in consequence. It is

curious to compare the Prayers of the Protestants in England for these persecutors, their conversion and salvation, with this document. Strype's *Parker*, iii 197, No. 68, n. 132.

¹ Butler's *Cath.* i. 365

² *Ibid* i 429.

probably have refused to join in it, against the papal authority. Can any one, then, in his senses, wonder that no minister of Elizabeth had courage enough to adopt a liberal line of policy towards the Roman Catholics? and if such had been adopted, and the queen had been murdered, what would have been the judgment of posterity on such a minister? No one possessed of any feeling can fail to deplore the lot of an honest Roman Catholic priest at such a period, but our pity need not be confined to him alone. A conscientious minister, or even the queen herself, may well claim a share of our commiseration, who, having the wish to treat the Roman Catholics with kindness, found themselves obliged to use measures which nothing but absolute necessity could palliate, which no necessity perhaps could justify. But it would be unjust to history, if we failed to state the causes of all these evils. They arose from the errors of a church claiming to itself an indefinite infallibility, in which the chief member attempted to enforce the dictates of his own will in opposition to the law of God. They arose from a priesthood, who, from principles of blind obedience to their superiors, dared not disclaim that authority, when it was manifestly opposed to the Bible. They arose from this circumstance, that both parties mixed up religion with politics, and concealed their own interested motives under the specious covering of the cause of God. In fact, the Reformation throughout partook much more of a political nature than it ought to have done.

§ 443. The temporal interference of the church of Rome was a tyranny against which the potentates of Europe had as much reason to contend, as against the spiritual thralldom which it pretended to exercise over their minds, and by the grace of God, the struggles which they made to free themselves from an earthly yoke served to deliver them from that spiritual darkness which would have continued to blind their faculties, and have prevented them from beholding the light. The immediate evil which arose from this source was, that individuals imitated their governors, so that a warfare of extermination was commenced among brethren of the same nation and kindred. They made Protestantism or their adhering to the church of Rome the tests of a party zeal, which drove them into unwarrantable excesses, and the names of *Protestant* and *Romanist* were rendered political badges, full as much as religious distinctions. and let history decide which party was the most to blame, in a struggle in which neither can be excused. One thing, indeed, may be pleaded in favour of the church of Rome, which cannot be advanced for us, that, if their principles be taken for granted, and the question abstractedly viewed, they are right in persecuting, whereas the Protestant can have no such justification, and his advocate has only to deny that we ever persecuted for religion.

If there be no salvation except within the pale of the church of Rome, a conscientious Romanist may in kindness use any method of compulsion to bring the Protestant into communion with himself whereas, since the sincere Protestant hopes to meet his brethren of every communion in a blessedness which shall be hereafter, however we may have differed on earth, as the true Catholic, whether he be Protestant or Romanist, builds his hope of glory on the merits of his Redeemer, and places his prospects of grace on the assistance of the Holy Ghost, we can only use the weapons of our prayers for the enlightening of ourselves and others, and bring forward those arguments with which Scripture will furnish us, believing that every other method of persuasion arises from the same source, and is to be traced to the author of all evil. If the enlightened Roman Catholic disallow the conclusion which is here drawn, if he reject the idea of persecution, even to produce salvation in the persecuted, let him honestly examine the question, and see whether this be not a legitimate conclusion from the datum of an infallible church, beyond the pale of which there is no hope of salvation; and then let him examine the arguments by which the nineteenth article of our church is supported, and may God of his mercy show him and us the truth.

§ 444 Having dwelt so long on abstract principles, it may not be amiss to say something of the persecutions in Mary's days, when compared with those exercised against the Roman Catholics under Elizabeth. We will suppose, then, that by the law of the land, as it stood at each of these periods, either prisoner could legally have been put to death, the one for being a heretic, the other because he was a seminary priest. The one (^a), who might be a perfectly illiterate person, because when examined he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, a doctrine which all must allow to be beyond reason, not to be subject to the senses, and when believed, to be a mere act of faith. The other, who must be an educated man, known to be brought up at a seminary which held doctrines incompatible with civil society, because he refused to abjure opinions concerning the papal authority which he conscientiously held, and the entertaining of which the supreme legislature of this country had decided to be a legal crime, and punishable as treason. God forbid that any Christian should for a moment approve of the latter, but is not comparison inadmissible? is not the practical difference enormous? May it not safely be asserted, that an honest man expressing those sentiments which

(^a) Bradford was condemned for denying the corporal presence and transubstantiation. So were Mrs A. Ascue, Kirby, and Roger Clark.

and numberless other examples might be found. *Strype's Ecc. Mem.* III. i. 366 Fox, ii. 487 and 479

are now generally held by Roman Catholics in England would not have suffered under Elizabeth² and that a Protestant believing what we believe, and teaching what we teach, would, if God had given him grace and strength of mind enough to become a martyr, have been burnt under Mary? That Roman Catholics, acting as well as the English Catholics have as a body always acted, would have been treated well by the government of Elizabeth, is more than can be proved, for the first principles of toleration were then unknown, either in church or state, but toleration is a plant of Protestant growth, and all true Christians may join in the prayer, that her branches may cover the earth.

§ 445 The unjust method in which the trials of Roman Catholics were conducted is sometimes brought forward as a charge against Elizabeth, by those who advocate their cause, but it must not be forgotten that justice was never substantially administered during this reign^(a). The influence of the powerful was frequently exercised against all right, and it is not to be wondered if the Roman Catholics, in this respect, were not more fortunate than their Protestant neighbours. The charge is well founded, but it should be brought against the times generally. The evil was common, and did not particularly affect the Roman Catholics. It arose from the ordinary notions of the people as much as from the court, for a corrupt jury must be composed of corrupt individuals, whose judgment will not be tolerated, except when the feelings of a country are themselves corrupted.

But before we quit this subject we should recollect that the general opinions on persecution were totally different from what they are at present. Very few of the Roman Catholic persuasion founded their hopes of convincing Protestants on any other basis than that of force, and the puritan, while he required toleration for himself, while he expected that every scruple of his own should be treated with tenderness, had no desire to extend the same allowance to others. Sampson, who, of all men, ought to have learnt kindness to those who differed from him, through what he had

(a) As proofs that this was the opinion of those who lived at this time, see a letter of Overton to Buileigh, where, in speaking of Leicester, he says, 'a nobleman far above my power and ability to withstand,' 'mine own counsel, for fear of displeasure, scarce dare encounter him in my causes' (Strype's *Ann* vi 207, No 18). Neville expresses the same idea to Lord Buileigh (Strype's *Ann* v 459). Lord Essex, writing to Sergeant Puckering about a gen-

tleman, a follower of the earl's, under prosecution, treats justice as if it were a mere piece of party favour, and simply threatens the judge (Strype's *Ann* v 657). The son of one Collard, a brewer, in Canterbury, murdered a poor man in open day, and got his pardon by his father paying 240*l* to Chief Baron Manwood (Strype's *Ann* v 391). There are some persons so ignorant as to wish for the good days of Queen Bess!

himself suffered¹ (Dec. 31, 1574), wrote to Burleigh, to remonstrate with him because he had been the means of delivering some Roman Catholics out of prison, and urges, that if they were no longer kept in durance, they should at least be compelled to hear sermons for their conversion. And, in 1577, Sir Nicholas Bacon, in one of the last letters which he wrote,² speaks of severity as the only means of checking the Roman Catholics, and thereby of withstanding the power of Rome. The puritans complained often of their treatment by the high church party, but no one can doubt that they would have been far less tolerant had the power of enforcing their own opinions been placed in their hands.

§ 446. (A.D. 1572) When the laws against nonconformity were at first enforced, they produced, as might have been expected, a counter action amongst those against whom they were directed. Many of the clergy were deprived of their preferments, and some of them formed themselves into a presbytery, at Wandsworth^(*), and under their superintendence the Admonition to Parliament was published.³ The unbending spirit of the one produced severity in those who governed, and severity created hatred and animosity, which in its turn gave rise to more vigorous measures, till both parties neglected the essentials of religion to dispute about its externals. In the next year (June 11, 1573),⁴ Elizabeth issued a proclamation against the puritans, and they, on their part, agreed to protestations declaratory of the reasons of their not joining in the national worship. In the autumn, a madman, of the name of Birchet, excited by puritanic principles, stabbed Mr Hawkins, an eminent officer in the navy, mistaking him for Mr Hatton of the council, an event which aggravated the ill-will which was borne towards them, and in order that this opposition to authority might be more effectually prevented, a letter was written from the council to certain chosen commissioners in every shire (Nov.),⁵ exciting them to enforce the orders of the proclamation. During the next summer (A.D. 1574), the exercises of prophesyings⁶ were put down in the diocese of Norwich (June 7), notwithstanding some diversity of opinion which prevailed among the council. These several steps served but to make the line of separation be-

(*) This presbytery, which was the first established in England, was for some time conducted in secret, and though the bishops were acquainted with its existence, they could not discover the members who composed it, or prevent the establish-

ment of similar institutions. The chief persons engaged in it were Field and Wilcox. They published their regulations, which were denominated the 'Orders of Wandsworth' (Fuller, ix. 103)

¹ Strype's *Ann.* iii. 491

³ Neal's *Pur.* i. 231, 243

⁵ Strype's *Ann.* iii. 384.

² Ibid. iv. 98.

⁴ Strype's *Parker*, ii. 256 and 283

⁶ Strype's *Parker*, ii. 361.

tween the puritans and the church more definitely marked, and exasperated the minds of both. It is not easy to determine how far any blame may attach to Archbishop Parker, for his conduct may, in the judgment of some persons, appear to have been dictated by correct views with regard to ecclesiastical policy, and it is impossible to ascertain who were the prime movers of that severe compulsion, which was hardly warranted by the cause against which it was directed. It is generally attributed to the queen herself^(b), who could ill brook any opposition to her commands, but the real question, as far as Parker's character is concerned, is, whether he approved of what was done, or whether he only followed the directions of Elizabeth and her council. (A D 1575) There can be no doubt that he was a great and good man, and that our church owes much to his wisdom, learning, and care, but it is not unlikely, that had he acted with the same Christian forbearance and decision which was exhibited by his successor, he would have saved the country from much irreligion, fanaticism, and bloodshed. He was in most respects peculiarly suited to his station, but in his intercourse and treatment of the puritans, he was perhaps guilty of an error in judgment, he was sincere, though warm, and in carrying on his plans of reform he deprived himself of the earthly happiness of the latter years of his life. he died May 17.¹

§ 447. (A D 1576) One of the early acts of Grindal was to reform the exercises of prophesyings, into which some disorders had occasionally crept, and for this purpose he issued orders² concerning the manner of managing the proceedings of these assemblies^(a), but the queen took occasion, upon his next appearance at court, to declare herself offended at the number of preachers, as

(b) Jewell says, 'Reginæ certum est, nolle flecti (1547) Sed regina ferre mutationem in religione, hoc tempore, nullam potest' (Burnet, vi 445, No 84, App 450, No 88) Grindal says of those who would not give way, 'Sed cum hoc non faciunt nos apud serenissimam reginam ista contentione irritatam, nihil possumus' (Burnet, 463, No 92)

(a) They were to be carried on in some church appointed by the bishop, and the archdeacon, or some one (a grave and learned graduate), appointed by him, was to be the moderator. Such portions of Scripture were to be examined and dis-

cussed as the bishop should appoint. The laity were never to speak, nor any of the clergy who were not previously judged meet to be speakers; the rest of the clergy were to be allowed to perform exercises before the clergy in private, but not before the whole congregation. The speakers were immediately to be stopped if they glanced at any state, or any person public or private, or said anything against the laws, rites, policies, and discipline of the church of England, and if they had ever been silenced, they were not to be admitted again without a fresh appointment.

¹ Strype's *Parker*, ii 430

² Strype's *Grindal*, 327.

well as at these exercises, desiring him to redress both. In consequence of this, he wrote to her a most apostolical epistle¹ (Dec. 20th), and urged her to consider the utility of such institutions, and the duty of obeying the will of God, and not following our own devices. This step, however, did not at all coincide with the methods by which Elizabeth was determined to govern, and during the next spring² she sent a letter to all the bishops commanding them to suppress prophesyings in their dioceses, and in June sequestered the archbishop, and confined him to his house (b)³; and thus made the remainder of his life inactive as to the cause of the church; for though he appears during the whole time to have carried on the ecclesiastical business in his own name, yet his influence and authority were thus rendered nugatory at a period when everything depended on the favour of the court. He seems indeed to have tendered his resignation with a sincere wish for its acceptance, but Whitgift had too much right feeling to allow him to enter on an office during the lifetime of an incumbent who, though he differed from his successor in principles, was manifestly acting the part of an honest man⁴. The convocation, too, in 1581, showed their respect for Grindal by presenting a petition in his favour, drawn up by Tobie Mathews, dean of Christ Church, and printed in Fuller;⁵ and though there remains no document which decidedly proves the time of his restoration, yet it probably took place in the next year. He died July 6, 1583, and was succeeded by Whitgift, bishop of Worcester⁶.

§ 448 (A.D. 1583) The conduct of Grindal must always appear most exemplary. He was himself adverse to the ecclesiastical dresses, yet upon the advice of Peter Martyr⁷ he conformed, and exerted himself to effect the same in his brethren, because he saw that the want of a sufficient ministry was the greatest evil which could happen to the church; but when such measures were adopted as were against his conscience, he remonstrated as a Christian patriot, and offered a resignation of his office, in which he could not fulfil the duties required of him by the crown without offending his God. The question of whether he was right in his judgment is totally indifferent, but a monarch with half the sense which Elizabeth possessed, had she not been hurried away by her passions, would have treated him in a very different manner, even though

(b) Another source of displeasure is hinted at by Strype and Camden (*Grindal*. 440, and *Elizabeth*, 287), arising from his not granting a dis-

pensation to Julio, a physician of Lord Leicester's; but the authority on which this story rests is questionable.

¹ Strype's *Grindal*, 558, No. ix.

³ *Ibid* 343.

⁵ Fuller, ix. 120.

⁷ Burnet, v. 478.

² *Ibid* 342.

⁴ Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 222.

⁶ Strype's *Grindal*, 403.

she supposed him to be in the wrong : she might have accepted his resignation, and behaved towards him with more personal kindness. But as it was, the ill consequences of this affair were very apparent, discipline was neglected,¹ and the puritan party so far prevailed as to introduce many clergymen of their own opinions into ecclesiastical situations, notwithstanding the seeming triumph of the other side : and the parliament of 1581 presented a petition in favour of ecclesiastical reform, the general tendency of which was apparently to abridge the power of the bishops² by making the concurrence of the dean and chapter, or six preachers, necessary for certain episcopal acts, such as ordaining, commuting penance, &c. Most of the articles of this petition which regard residence and pluralities have been since, wholly or partially, adopted, excepting indeed the fifth and sixth—that no dignitary of the church should hold more than one living together with his cathedral prebend; and that no more than two such dignities should be tenable by the same person (^a)

§ 449. But it may not be amiss here to say something more of the treatment of the puritans, for the line of policy was now so decidedly taken up by the government, that any subsequent concession must have looked like vacillation of judgment, or weakness of power. Let it be asked then what the treatment of the puritans ought to have been ? how should uniformity have been preserved without giving up episcopacy or other essentials ? Before we enter on such a discussion, it may be useful to consider how far the then existing law differed from the present, and how far that law itself was the cause of the opposition raised against it. There was then nothing which resembled toleration towards Protestant dissenters, if an individual were offended at any part of the service, he could not absent himself from church, as he would have incurred a severe penalty by so doing he had no other place of worship to which he might retire, for in all probability, at first, many of the puritans would have been perfectly contented with this, and if their passions had been allowed to cool, if an opportunity of viewing our decent forms had been given them, many might have quietly returned into the bosom of the church. Such steps, however, were little suited for the character of Elizabeth, who would as readily have surrendered her crown as have allowed her subjects to exercise their private judgments on such matters; and the punishment of death was esteemed the only remedy for Brownists,³ who denied the queen's supremacy in any

(^a) This has just now (August, 1840) become the law of the land

¹ Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 226

² *Ibid.* iii 47 [No 3]

³ Strype's *Ann* v 269.

but civil matters. He, therefore, who could raise a scruple in the mind of an individual as to the legitimacy of a ceremony, raised a spirit of insubordination in the breast in which it was implanted; and among the various opinions which prevailed, and the elements of discord which were thus diffused throughout the kingdom, it was the public danger alone which kept the nation united. Sermons tended to foster these sentiments of free investigation, and Elizabeth, who clearly saw their tendency, instead of trying to direct them to useful objects, and to disseminate real Christianity, endeavoured to curtail the frequency of them, if not to suppress them altogether. Now had the laws against nonconformity been made much more easy with regard to those who were already in orders, and possessed of preferment, had the better sort of nonconformists been treated with lenity, and had the government shut its eyes to their failings; had all interrogatories *ex officio mero*¹ been disused, which served but to embody the nonconformists, had every means been exerted to instruct the rising generation, and to convince them practically that the dress was an indifferent point (for many of the nonconformists were at first weak brethren, and were often rendered turbulent merely by severity), had strictness of subscription been required from all who took possession of benefices, and the same sort of laxity allowed which now prevails with regard to dress; had the government and the bishops exerted their first energies in reforming undoubted abuses, it is probable that nonconformity would not have been so closely connected with revolutionary principles and the assertion of civil rights; and that in the subsequent struggle, the church might have helped to support the throne, instead of proving the readiest point through which the sovereign could be attacked. As it was, Elizabeth supported the church by her energy and talents, and circumstances enabled her to triumph over the rising spirit of freedom in the country, but in the hands of James and Charles, the abuses, real and imaginary, which existed in the church, contributed greatly to overthrow the monarchy.

¹ See § 458 (a).

CHAPTER X.

FROM WHITGIFT'S APPOINTMENT, 1583, TO THE END
OF THE REIGN

450. Whitgift, archbishop, he requires subscription to the 'Three Articles' 451. Treatment of the puritans, opposition to the bishops. 452 Objects of the puritans 453 Law framed against the queen of Scots 454 Hooker and Travers 455. Death of Mary queen of Scots 456 Attempts at innovation, convocation 457 Armada, conduct of the Roman Catholics 458 Conduct of the puritans 459. Treatment of them 460 Question of episcopacy 461 Treatment of the libellers 462 Roman Catholics 463, 464 Origin of the Lambeth Articles. 465. Greater peace in the church 466 Change of opinion in certain puritans 467 Character of Elizabeth 468 Her treatment of the puritans and Roman Catholics 469 Religious, but arbitrary. 470 Death of Elizabeth. 471 State of the church

§ 450 THE selection of Whitgift for the metropolitan see was judicious, considering the line of policy with regard to church matters which Elizabeth had determined to adopt. The question was now, whether force should compel the clergy to be all of one mind about indifferent matters; and the present archbishop was a fit instrument to decide it according to the wishes of the queen.

¹ He began his administration by examining how the regulations affecting recusancy and nonconformity were observed, and addressed a circular letter to his brethren the bishops, directing them to take care that the articles (*) concerning these matters, on which they had agreed, should be duly enforced. In his own diocese he began at once a very rigid inquiry into the state of the clergy, and strictly enjoined subscription to the three articles which now stand in the thirty-sixth canon. From the subordinate officers, who were deputed to carry on this investigation,² the ministers of Kent addressed themselves to the archbishop in person, who, having spent two or three days in endeavouring to convince them, proceeded to the suspension of such as persisted in their non-compliance, while they on their part appealed to the

(*) These are printed in Strype, and contain in the sixth section the three articles in the thirty-sixth canon to which Whitgift required subscription (Whitgift, i. 229). They had the sanction of the bishops

and of the queen, but the legality of requiring subscription to them may still be doubted. See this part of the question discussed in Neal's *Puritans*, i. 320.

¹ Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 227, &c.

² *Ibid.* i. 245.

council. The same step was also adopted by certain ministers in Suffolk,¹ who were placed under the same circumstances, and in whose favour some of the magistrates of the county had ventured to petition.² This produced a sort of remonstrance from the council, and an answer from the archbishop, who was determined to proceed with vigour, and to exercise the powers of the ecclesiastical commission

§ 451. The articles and interrogatories which were issued during the spring of 1584 are a strong instance of the indefinite and tyrannical power then exercised by the governors of the church.³ They were queries *ex officio meo*, proposed to clergymen, whose only accuser was common fame, and who were expected to answer on oath questions which involved not only their opinions on matters in which they had, or might have, conformed, but the very fact of their conformity and their future intentions formed part of the inquiry. Whitgift and the other bishops contended, that in their proceeding in this way they were borne out by received custom and the usages of other courts, and that such steps were necessary, when no information could be procured against nonconforming and popular ministers, but this circumstance, if indeed the fact were so, proved the total abhorrence which the mass of the population must have felt towards ecclesiastical courts, or that such nonconformity could not be very frequent or considerable, when no evidence could be obtained of a fact done in the face of the whole congregation, among whom any stranger might be present. And Burleigh, who was the sound friend of the church, though not an admirer of all ecclesiastical proceedings,⁴ characterises these articles as 'so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as I think the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys' He strongly advises a more charitable method of treatment, and while he disputes not the legality of what was done, he subjoins *omnia licent*, yet *omnia non expediunt*. As to the wisdom and propriety of allowing the church to remain as it was by law established,⁵ the bishops seem to have convinced several of the court by two conferences held with the opposite party in the presence of those who entertained doubts on this subject in the latter of these, which took place at Lambeth in 1585, the archbishop during four hours confuted and answered in a most satisfactory manner their scruples and objections. But the steps which he took to enforce conformity, and unity of opinion, were not so well received,⁶ and this induced him to comply with the suggestions of Walsingham, who advised, that

¹ Strype's *Ann.* v. 264 ² Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 250. ³ *Ibid.* iii. 81, No. iv

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 106, No. ix. and Fuller, ix. 156

⁵ Paul's *Whitgift* Wordsworth's *Ecc. Biog.* iv. 343 ⁶ Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 431